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THE

LIFE

OF

REGINALD HEBER, D. D.

LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

BY HIS WIDOW.

WITH

SELECTIONS

FROM HIS

CORRESPONDENCE, UNPUBLISHED POEMS, AND PRIVATE PAPERS;

TOGETHER WITH

A JOURNAL OF HIS TOUR

IN

NORWAY, SWEDEN, RUSSIA, HUNGARY, AND GERMANY,

AND

A HISTORY OF THE COSSAKS.

IN TWO VOLUMES,

VOL. II.

NEW-YORK:

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL PRESS, 46 LUMBER-STREET.

MDCCCXXX.

Southern District of New-York, ss.

Be it Remembered, That on the *2nd* day of July, A. D. 1838, in the *56th* year of the Independence of the United States of America, Jonathan M. Wainwright, of the said District, hath deposited in this office, the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"The Life of Reginald Heber, D. D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta. By his Widow. With Selections from his Correspondence, Unpublished Poems, and Private Papers: together with a Journal of his Tour in Norway, Sweden, Russia, Hungary, and Germany, and a History of the Cossaks. In two volumes."

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned." And also to an Act, entitled "An Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled an Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

FREDERICK J. BETTS,

Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

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LIFE

OF

REGINALD HEBER.

CHAPTER XVIII.

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In the spring of 1820, a putrid sore throat raged with great violence in the town and neighbourhood of Hodnet, to which several persons fell victims. Mr. Reginald Heber was daily to be seen in those cottages where the disorder was most prevalent, carrying himself the nourishment or medicine necessary for the sufferers, and never allowing the fear of infection to deter him from this path of duty. When remonstrated with on the great risk he was running, he would answer, that he "was as much in God's keeping in the sick man's chamber, as in his own," and strove to inspire in those around him the same implicit trust in His Fatherly care, which governed his own conduct. For many weeks he was mercifully preserved from harm; but at length, after visiting the inmates of the work-house, where, from its crowded state, the infection was the greatest, he caught the disorder, and was for some hours in considerable danger. The malignity of the complaint was such, that it spread through his household, seven members of which were attacked at the same time; but, through the goodness of God, they all recovered.

Among the many virtues with which this true Christian was endowed, his humility, and the singular tenderness of his conscience, were, perhaps, the most remarkable. Scrupulous and active in the discharge of all his duties, whether religious or moral, and peculiarly blessed in temper and disposition, he was always on his guard against the infirmities of human nature. He felt that, without constant prayer to God for the help of His Holy Spirit, his own unassisted endeavours after righteousness were but vain; and his private manual of devotions—a manual too sacred to meet the public eye—contains the most humble petitions for forgiveness of the past, and for grace to enable him to walk in newness of life. In his book of memoranda, on Good Friday in this year, he writes: "Preached and administered the Sacrament. I have resolved, this day, by God's help, to be more diligent in prayer; to rise earlier; to be more industrious in my studies; to keep a more watchful guard on my temper; to be more diligent in my parochial duties. God help and strengthen me!"

He had a conscientious regard for the property of others, especially of the poor. One day when he was riding with the editor near a cottage, he saw some cows trespassing in the garden; he got off his horse to tell the owner of the mischief they were doing, but found the cottage empty; on which he drove the cows out some distance up the lane, and then made up the fence to prevent their return.

On his next birth-day he thus expresses himself: "*Oh utinam annorum præteritorum vitia, stultitiam, mollitiem, ignaviam exhinc abjicerem! Libera me, bone Deus, ab omni peccato! e laqueis diaboli animum expedi! meque tuum fac, tibique deditum per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.*"

To the Rev. J. Oxlee.

Hodnet Rectory, Jan. 3, 1820.

"My Dear Sir,

"I owe you many apologies for not having answered your first obliging letter, and acknowledged, at the same time, the receipt of the very able and very learned sermon which accompanied it. The truth is that, at the time of its arriving at Hod-

net, I was myself from home, as I have been the greater part of the last year under peculiar circumstances of family distress, from the death of my only child, and the subsequent lingering illness of my wife. This, for a long time prevented my attending to any literary subject; and when I was more capable of appreciating (as, believe me, I have appreciated highly) the merits of your able examination of a subject obscure in itself, and rendered more obscure by the unfairness of our enemies, and the timidity of our friends, I deferred writing to you, in the expectation of being soon able to accompany my letter with a present of the same kind, though of far inferior learning and research to yours, in an ordination sermon, which I preached during the autumn before the Bishop of Chester, and which will, I hope, be soon in a state to send to you. I can, however, no longer delay to thank you for your repeated kindness to me, and to assure you, that I look forward with real impatience to the appearance of the second volume of your work on the Trinity and Incarnation.

"You, my dear Sir, have chosen a severe and thankless line of study, which, as few ordinary scholars care to grapple with to any extent, has been most unjustly depreciated by the vain and trifling part of the literary world. It is, indeed, remarkable, that England is, of all Protestant countries, that where the importance and riches of Hebrew literature are least known. But I cannot help hoping that the tide may be turned, though it has set so long in one direction; and I shall sincerely rejoice to see your labours take the place in public estimation, to which their soundness, good sense, and originality, in my opinion, entitle them.

"Your's most truly,

"Reginald Heber."

To R. W. Hay, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, March 25, 1820.

"My Dear Hay,

"It seems so long since I have heard from you, that though I have no news to tell, and nothing to say which is worth the bore of a letter to a man who receives and is obliged to answer so many as

you are, I cannot help writing to ask how you have escaped from this marvellous sickly season, in which the weather seems to have conspired with Mr. Thistlewood to put honest men in danger. You have probably heard of the severe campaign of blistering, bleeding, and all the other 'ings' in the *materia medica* in which I have myself been engaged, and which eventually involved my whole family, from the mistress of the house to the kitchen maid, in the same active operations.

* * * * *

* "You will have been sorry to see that —— —— has been disappointed at Wenlock. Since, however, he was to lose, I am glad that Childe has succeeded, to whom it has been some time an object of ambition. * *

* * * * *

"I have, you are perhaps aware, engaged to write a life of Jeremy Taylor, for an edition of his works which Duncan and Co. are preparing. I do not dislike the sort of work, but labour under a lamentable want of materials. I am also engaged in finishing an article on Rennell's 'Illustration of the Anabasis.' It is a very heavy subject, and I am sorry I undertook it; but having advanced so far, it would be absurd to give in. *

* * * * * * *

"I received, about a month ago, a favourable account of Thornton from Rome.

"Your's most truly,

"REGINALD HEBER."

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, May 26, 1820.

"I think you have laid more stress on the failure of your speech in seconding the motion of thanks than the case calls for. I read it as it was reported, and thought it read well both in point of language and matter, whatever may have been the expediency of introducing disputable questions into such a composition. But it is, I apprehend, no new thing in Israel for a man who speaks well on other occasions, to fail in that kind of laudatory oratory which your party, in this instance, assigned to you. Man is, by nature, rather a vituperative than a compli-

mentary animal; the language of satire and censure has a far greater *copia verborum* than that of praise; and this is so generally felt, that of all the speeches delivered in parliament, those for the motion and secondment of addresses are, I think, least read and least noticed by the public. On such a subject, even if you had spoken like an angel, few would have given you any great credit for it; and if you have, as you apprehend, done ill, such a single instance of failure, will be effaced by the next good or even tolerable speech you make.

"I am sorry you have not had time to finish your article for the Quarterly. I have some weeks since sent them up one, and am now deeply engaged in another. The first was on a very fine poem of Milman's, 'The Fall of Jerusalem,'* which, as being almost exclusively laudatory, I found difficult, and did not well satisfy myself. My present theme is Southey's Life of Wesley,†—a theme much more copious, and one which interests me a good deal. How I shall succeed in it, I do not yet know; it is no easy matter to give Wesley his due praise, at the same time that I am to distinguish all that was blameable in his conduct and doctrines; and it is a very difficult matter indeed to write on such a subject at all without offending one or both of the two fiercest and foolishest parties that ever divided a church—the High Churchmen and the Evangelicals.

"I am not sure whether I mentioned in my last letter that we hope soon to have the pleasure of meeting you and yours in town. Except seeing you and Thornton, after having been so long absent, there is no circumstance in London which I look forward to with greater pleasure than meeting the party at Grillon's

"My materials for the life of Jeremy Taylor come in but slowly. John Talbot has very good-naturedly taken great pains to collect any facts or traditions which might be preserved in Ireland, but, as yet, with little success. It is whimsical how many persons lay claim to be descended from Taylor, and how many of these have, at different times, professed to have in their possession materials for his biography. Some of these seem anxious

* The Fall of Jerusalem, &c. By the Rev. H. H. Milman. Quarterly Rev. 1820.
† The Life of Wesley. By Robert Southey, Esq. Quarterly Review, 1821.

to involve themselves and their intentions in mystery, while others appear to have little which was not already known to the public. I have had a curious and characteristic letter from Coleridge, of whom I had asked some information, and who promises a sight of some notes which he has at different times written on Taylor. Whatever he has written bids fair to be abundantly eloquent and learned, and I have, of course, accepted his offer with gratitude.

"Wilson 'of the palms and plague,' is standing for a professorship of history at Edinburgh. It was reported that Sir James Mackintosh was to be his rival; but Wilson, in a letter to me, makes no mention of this, nor does my brother, who would, I should think, have been likely to notice it."

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, August 14, 1820.

"When do you and Mrs. Wilmot come into the country? and when will you let us see you here? This house, which was when you saw it sadly too naked, has now really got a very decent fringe of trees and shrubs. Whether I am to look to sit under their shade much longer, must depend, I suppose, not merely on the term of my natural life, but on the duration of the present order of things; which I fear, is still more precarious. In the event of a revolution, however, it is some comfort to think that one is to be ruined in good company, and that, if the revenues of the church are to be wiped out, a sponge may also, probably, be applied to funded property.

* * * * * *

"Amid all these fears, here as elsewhere, we go on pretty merrily; though the bow meetings, which last year were the chief glory of the neighbourhood, are much crippled, and cut off to a smaller number by the late season in town and the call of the House of Lords.

"I have had from Ireland a very curious and interesting packet of details concerning Jeremy Taylor, such as his having married a natural daughter of Charles the First's, and other particulars not previously known. Other original papers of his are said to be at Donnington (Lord Hastings'.) His absence

is unfortunate; but I have applied to the descendants of Taylor, by whom these papers were placed there in deposit, to authorize me to request a sight of them from the agent, whoever he may be. Can you give me any information or assistance on this point? It is one of considerable importance to me in the small quantity of information which I have been able to collect about my hero."

Mr. Reginald Heber sometimes promoted by his pen the harmless merriment of the meetings mentioned in the last letter. From the songs which he wrote for this purpose, the following is selected, for its imagery and historical allusions. It was sung at Harwarden Castle, in Flintshire, the seat of Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart. :—

BOW MEETING SONG.

By yon castle wall, 'mid the breezes of morning,
The genius of Cambria stray'd pensive and slow;
The oak-wreath was wither'd her tresses adorning,
And the wind through its leaves sigh'd its murmur of wo.
She gaz'd on her mountains with filial devotion,
She gaz'd on her Dee as he roll'd to the ocean,—
And "Cambria! poor Cambria!" she cried with emotion,
"Thou yet hast thy country, thy harp, and thy bow!"

"Sweep on, thou proud stream, with thy billows all hoary;
As proudly my warriors have rush'd on the foe;
But feeble and faint is the sound of their glory,
For time, like thy tide, has its ebb and its flow.
Ev'n now, while I watch thee, thy beauties are fading;
The sands and the shallows thy course are invading;
Where the sail swept the surges the sea-bird is wading;
And thus hath it fared with the land of the bow!

"Smile, smile, ye dear hills, 'mid your woods and your flowers
Whose heather lies dark in the morn's dewy glow!
A time must await you of tempest and showers,
An autumn of mist, and a winter of snow!
For me, though the whirlwind has shiver'd and cleft me,
Of wealth and of empire the stranger bereft me,
Yet Saxon,—proud Saxon,—thy fury has left me
Worth, valour, and beauty, the harp and the bow!

"Ye towers, on whose rampire, all ruin'd and riven,
The wall-flower and woodbine so lavishly blow;
I have seen when your banner waved broad to the heaven,
And kings found your faith a defence from the foe;
Oh loyal in grief, and in danger unshaken,
For ages still true, though for ages forsaken,
Yet, Cambria, thy heart may to gladness awaken,
Since thy monarch has smil'd on the harp and the bow!"

Before leaving Hodnet for a short time this summer, Mr. Reginald Heber writes, "preparing to leave home. *O sancte Deus, adesto itineri, libera me ab omni peccato, et da servo tuo incolumem faustumque reditum per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.*"

During this absence he attended the commemoration at Oxford, when he had the gratification of hearing "Palestine" performed as an oratorio, in the same theatre where, seventeen years before, he had recited it to an equally or perhaps, a more crowded audience than was then assembled. To the eye the scene was the same, but its component parts were widely different. Of the relations who were present at the former period, some had paid the debt of nature; the great number of his contemporaries were scattered abroad in the pursuit of their respective professions; new faces occupied the arena. Yet there were those present who had witnessed and shared in the early triumphs of his genius, who now partook in the deep feeling with which the editor listened to lines which she could never read without emotion, now dressed in a garb which gave them additional beauties. Those seventeen years had passed over her husband's head, save with two or three bitter exceptions, in tranquillity and happiness. The few that he was thenceforth destined to live, bore, in many respects, a different character; but though not of tranquillity, they were far from being to him years of sorrow. A life so passed can never be productive of real unhappiness, however chequered by the common lot of mankind. On his return home the following prayer was written in his diary.—"*Gratias ago tibi, Pater cœlestis, qui custos fuisti in itinere nostro, curam abhinc solitam nobis, precor, extende, meque*

ob omnia tua beneficia gratum effice per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen."

The following miscellaneous poems were written at different periods of Mr. Reginald Heber's life, but being unconnected with any particular event they may be introduced here. They were composed in the midst of a circle of friends, and are selected from among many of the same nature to show, not only his talent for extempore versification, and the inexhaustible stores of his mind, but the remarkable facility with which the same genius that had in the morning grappled with high and abstruse subjects, could enliven the evening fire-side with the grace and playfulness of its poetic effusions.

ON CROSSING THE RANGE OF HIGH LAND BETWEEN STONE AND MARKET DRAYTON, JAN. 4, 1820.

Dread inmate of the northern zone!
And hast thou left thine ancient throne
On Zembla's hills of snow,
Thine arrowy sleet and icy shower
On us, unbroken to thy power,
With reckless hand to throw?

Enough for us thy milder sway,
The yellow mist, the shortn'd day,
The sun of fainter glow;
The frost which scarce our verdure felt,
And rarely seen, and but to melt,
The wreath of transient snow.

I met thee once by Volga's tide,
Nor fear'd thy terrors to abide
On Valdai's sullen brow;
But little thought on English down
Thy darkest wrath and fiercest frown
So soon again to know.

Oh for my *schube's* accustomed fold,
Which then, in ample bear-skin roll'd,
Defied thy dread career!
Oh for the cap of sable warm,
Which guarded then from pinching harm
My nose, and cheek, and ear!

Mine old kibitka, where art thou?
Gloves, boots, peketch,—I need ye now,—
Sold to a Lemberg Jew!
In single vest, on Ashly heath,
My shrinking heart is cold as death,
And fingers ghastly blue!

BALLAD

1.

"Oh, captain of the Moorish hold,
Unbar thy gates to me,
And I will give thee gems and gold
To set Fernando free.
For I a sacred oath have plight
A pilgrim to remain,
Till I return with Lara's knight,
The noblest knight of Spain."

2.

"Fond Christian youth," the captain said,
"Thy suit is soon denied,
Fernando loves a Moorish maid,
And will with us abide.
Renounc'd is every Christian rite,
The turban he hath ta'en,
And Lara thus hath lost her knight,
The boldest knight of Spain."

3.

Pale, marble pale, the pilgrim turned
A cold and deadly dye;
Then in his cheeks the blushes burned,
And anger in his eye.
(From forth his cowl a ringlet bright
Fell down of golden grain.)
"Base Moor! to slander Lara's knight,
The boldest knight of Spain!

4.

"Go, look on Lugo's gory field!
Go look on Tayo's tide!

Can ye forget the red-cross shield,
That all your host defied?
Alhama's warriors turned to flight,
Granada's sultan slain,
Attest the worth of Lara's knight,
The boldest knight of Spain!"

5.

"By Allah, yea!" with eyes of fire
The lordly paynim said,
"Granada's sultan was my sire,
Who fell by Lara's blade;
And though thy gold were forty fold
The ransom were but vain
To purchase back thy Christian knight,
The boldest knight of Spain."

6.

"Ah, Moor! the life that once is shed
No vengeance can repay,
And who can number up the dead
That fall in battle fray?
Thyself in many a manly fight
Hast many a father slain;
Then rage not thus 'gainst Lara's knight,
The boldest knight of Spain."

7.

"And who art thou, whose pilgrim vest
Thy beauties ill may shroud;
The locks of gold, the heaving breast,
A moon beneath a cloud?—
Wilt thou our Moorish creed recite,
And here with me remain?
He may depart,—that captive knight,
The conquer'd knight of Spain."

8.

"Ah, speak not so!" with voice of woe,
The shuddering stranger cried;
"Another creed I may not know,
Nor live another's bride!
Fernando's wife may yield her life,
But not her honour stain,
To loose the bonds of Lara's knight,
The noblest knight of Spain!"

9.

"And know'st thou then, how hard a doom
Thy husband yet may bear?
The fetter'd limbs, the living tomb,
The damp and noisome air?
In lonely cave, and void of light,
To drag a helpless chain,
Thy pride condemns the Christian knight
The prop and pride of Spain!"

10.

"Oh that within that dungeon's gloom
His sorrows I might share,
And cheer him in that living tomb,
With love, and hope, and prayer!
But still the faith I once have plight
Unbroken must remain,
And God will help the captive knight,
And plead the cause of Spain!"

11.

"And deem'st thou from the Moorish hold
In safety to retire,
Whose locks outshine Arabia's gold,
Whose eyes the diamond's fire?"
She drew a poniard small and bright,
And spake in calm disdain,
"*He* taught me how, my Christian knight,
To guard the faith of Spain!"

12.

The drawbridge falls! with loud alarm
The clashing portals fly!
She bar'd her breast, she rais'd her arms,
And knelt, in act to die!
But ah, the thrill of wild delight
That shot through every vain!
He stood before her,—Lara's knight,
The noblest knight of Spain!

SYMPATHY.

A knight and a lady once met in a grove,
While each was in quest of a fugitive love;
A river ran mournfully murmuring by,
And they wept in its waters for sympathy.

"Oh, never was knight such a sorrow that bore"
"Oh, never was maid so deserted before!"
"From life and its woes let us instantly fly,
And jump in together for company!"

They searched for an eddy that suited the deed,
But here was a bramble, and there was a weed;
"How tiresome it is!" said the fair with a sigh;
So they sat down to rest them in company.

They gaz'd on each other, the maid and the knight;
How fair was her form, and how goodly his height;
"One mournful embrace!" sobb'd the youth "ere we die!"
So kissing and crying kept company.

"Oh, had I but lov'd such an angel as you!"
"Oh, had but my swain been a quarter as true!"
"To miss such perfection how blinded was I!"
Sure now they were excellent company!

At length spoke the lass, 'twixt a smile and a tear,
"The weather is cold for a watery bier;
When summer returns we may easily die,
'Till then let us sorrow in company."

It has been observed in a former part of this Memoir, that Mr. Reginald Heber seldom heard a tune played which struck his fancy, without adopting to it words of his own writing. To a march composed in imitation of a military band he wrote

I see them on their winding way,
Above their ranks the moon-beams play,
And nearer yet, and yet more near,
The martial chorus strikes the ear.

They're lost and gone,—the moon is past,
The wood's dark shade is o'er them cast,
And fainter, fainter, fainter still,
The dim march warbles up the hill.

Again, again,—the pealing drum,
The clashing horn—They come! they come!
And lofty deeds and daring high,
Blend with their notes of Victory.

Forth, forth, and meet them on their way,
The trampling hoof brooks no delay;
The thrilling fife, the pealing drum,
How late—but oh! how lov'd they come!

A stanza* in the Orlando Innamorato of Boiardo, which the editor read aloud one evening, suggested to her husband the following lines.

THE WELL OF OBLIVION.

There is, they say, a secret well,
In Ardenne's forest grey,
Whose waters boast a numbing spell,
That memory must obey.

Who tastes the rill so cool and calm
In passion's wild distress,
Their breasts imbibe the sullen balm
Of deep forgetfulness.

And many a maid has sought the grove,
And bow'd beside the wave;
But few have borne to lose the love
That wore them to the grave.

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* Ell' era tutta d'oro lavorata
E d'alabastro, candido e pulito,
E così bel, che chi dentro vi quata
Vi vedi il prato e fior tutto scolpito.
Dicon che da Merlin fu fabbricata
Per Tristan, che d' Isotta era invaghito,
Accioch' ivi bevendo, si scordasse
L'amor di quella donna, e la lasciasse

No! by these tears, whose ceaseless smart
My reason chides in vain:
By all the secret of a heart
That never told its pain;

By all the walks that once were dear,
Beneath the green-wood bough;
By all the songs that sooth'd his ear
Who will not listen now;

By every dream of hope gone bye
That haunts my slumber yet,—
A love-sick heart may long to die,
But never to forget!

THE ORACLE.

Imitated from the Greek.

To Phœbus' shrine three youths of fame,
A wrestler, boxer, racer came,
And begg'd the Delphic god to say,
Which from the next Olympic game
Should bear the envied wreath away?
And thus the Oracle decided,—
"Be victors all brave youths, this day,
Each in your several arts!—*provided*
That none outstrip the racers' feet,
None at his trade the boxer beat,
None in the dust the wrestler lay!"

The conversation which is described in the following humourous letter actually took place in a large town in ———. As soon as Mr. Reginald Heber returned home he related it to the editor, and it was immediately written down in the form of a letter, nearly in the same words in which he told it, with the addition of the preface.

To —— ——.

Grub Street, April 1, 1820.

"My Dear ——,

"* * * There is yet another hospital for minor wits, which, in wideness of circulation, falls only short of the Quarterly Review; in elegance of exterior, surpasses the most splendid album; and which, from its judicious mixture of useful information, elegant literature, and blank paper nicely ruled, is the peculiar favourite, the chosen companion, the faithful confidante, and depository of secrets for the young, the fair, and the tender-hearted.

"Alas, my dear—I fear you have been so ill educated that you do not at once perceive that I allude to 'Gledge's Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas and Almanack,' a work which has the distinguished merit of gathering up the smallest possible sparkles of human intellect; which affords a twelvemonth's immortality to many whose names would otherwise have never been repeated out of their own families; which offers to our notice scenes from *popular* novels unknown to any review; prints of *villas*, to which the nearest ale-house keeper could hardly show the way; *fashions* which she who follows does it at her own peril; and poetry which Milton himself would have found it necessary to imitate, if Milton had sought the applause of milliners and young apprentices.

"Let it not, however, be supposed that there is no distinction of rank in Gledge's paradise, or that the higher distinctions are not here, as elsewhere, the exclusive inheritance of talent and of toil. To carve a snuff-box requires, indeed, less genius than to produce a Laocoon or a Farnese Hercules. But even in snuff-boxes there is a great difference; and much diligent study, and many sleepless nights are requisite before we can hope to receive a prize pocket-book for the best charade, and to produce a logogram on which our fame may rest in profound security.

"So, at least, I am assured by a young acquaintance who overtook me some time ago in the streets of a great mercantile city, where he had a few years previous been placed by his parents with an eminent conveyancer. I had known him before

as a youth of very pleasing manners and exterior; of good temper; of lively talents; and, at least, as well informed as the majority of lads who pass from the school to the counting-house. I was, therefore, not surprised that, while pressing me to dine with him, he enforced his request by the offer of introducing me to some very agreeable literary characters, with whom he had been so fortunate as to form an intimacy. I felt, however, I knew not why, something like a cold shudder when he further informed me, that these able and amiable young men were in the habit of meeting in an evening to read their own works to each other. But, as I was able to plead a previous engagement, I went on to inquire with some interest, and much personal tranquillity, into the nature of those studies to which his friends were chiefly addicted, and of the compositions which were thus produced for the common advantage of the society. 'Oh, Sir!' was his reply, 'we are all, like yourself, zealous votaries of the muses. Many of us have repeatedly obtained the prize for charades and riddles; I have myself made so much progress as to have written three letters in verse to my parents; and—you will perhaps think me vain—but I am now just engaged in a logogram, which even Mudge himself assures me will be very tolerable.'

"'Mr. Mudge,' I said, 'is, I presume, the most formidable critic of your society.' 'Oh, Sir, he is all in all with us. He is, indeed, a man of extraordinary talents, who has been, for some time, the main support of the 'Royal Engagement and Pocket Atlas,' and whose contributions, under his assumed name of *Asphodel*, have been solicited with propitiatory presents by half the stationers in the kingdom. Poor Mudge,' he continued, 'he is, indeed, an enthusiast in logograms! It was only last week that, after a restless night employed in intense meditation, a heavy slumber fell on him, from which he awoke under the strangest circumstances imaginable. His pulse beat high; his skin was feverish; a word, of which he felt, as it were, the weight, seemed bursting from his soul, and a conviction flashed on his mind that this word contained the elements of the most extraordinary logogram in the English language. He sprang from his bed—he thrust his head through the window. Immediately a stream

of words extractable from this *one* rushed on his memory, and he has already made out a list of five hundred and seventy-six, without one obsolete among them!'

"When I had recovered from the whimsical contrast which this logogrammatic *Berserksgangr* presented to the parallel exploit of Coleridge, who wrote his Kubla-Khan under the effects of opium, I inquired if this prolific 'Mater Lectionis' was a very long one? 'Only four syllables,' he answered with a smile; 'but, perhaps, Sir, if you are not much in the habit of composing logograms, you can hardly conceive how many words a single well chosen noun may be coaxed into. For instance, how many are there in steam-boat?' 'Two,' I rashly made reply—'steam and boat.' 'Aha!' said he, with a laugh of good natured superiority, 'have I caught you?—Are there not to be framed out of these letters, beast, and boast, and toast, and oats, and beam, and meat?' 'Oh spare me,' interrupted I, you have perfectly convinced me!' 'I thought so!—And do you know that this is my own logogram, and that I have already gotten eighty-six words, and hope to find more!'

"'This,' said I, 'is indeed vastly clever and curious; but what (I speak ignorantly) has it to do with poetry!' 'Surely, Sir,' was the reply, 'you do not think that Gledge would admit into his pocket-book any thing which was not in verse? No, believe me; we are obliged not only to describe our original word enigmatically and poetically, but to give each of its dependent terms in a separate couplet, and under the like mask of a riddle. Let me tell you it is no easy matter to give a figurative and allegorical account of eighty-six words successively.' I here lifted up my hands and eyes, which action my young companion observed, and continued, 'It would indeed, as you may think, be impossible without long practice; but my friend Mudge, who is far above any paltry jealousy, has put it in my power to make a progress beyond any of the club, by revealing to me the secrets of his own eminence, and procuring for me Bysche's art of poetry and complete rhyming dictionary. Of course, *you* are well acquainted with the work; but those who have not seen it would be quite astonished to find how easy it is, with such a guide, to write poetry.' 'Has Mr. Mudge,' I inquired,

'favoured his friends with any poetry of a different description from logograms?' 'Has he not?' was the reply, 'I should like to repeat to you his "weeping window," and his "answer to an invitation to a strawberry feast."'

"We had, by this time, arrived at the point where we were to separate, but the temptation was too strong to resist; I turned down his street, and became his willing auditor, endeavouring, at the same time, with all my power, to commit the precious morsels to memory. The first, unhappily, in a great measure escaped me, and I can only remember that a window-glass, on a rainy day, was called 'the amourous *pane* of a despairing lover.' In my report of the second I can answer for my own accuracy, though I must despair of doing justice to the luminous comments with which my friendly reciter accompanied them.

"'He begins,' said he, 'as you will observe, in a playful style,'

> Friend Higginson, I've understood
> That strawberries are wholesome food,
> And see no cause to doubt it;
> For many pottles I have swallow'd,
> And no bad consequence has follow'd.
> Then why say aught about it?

('Why indeed?' said I.—'Oh, Sir,' said he impatiently, 'observe the invocation which follows!')

> Hail strawberry! thou fruit divine
> In any other shape than wine,—

('Strawberry wine, you know, is but nasty stuff.')

> With Branker's patent suavity!

('Branker, you will observe, sells patent sugar.')

> Such parties do I daily see
> At Phœbe Brown's by aid of thee
> Who dissipate their gravity.

('Phœbe Brown sells strawberries.—Now comes the apology.')

But, Higginson, upon my soul,
Though much I love the spoon and bowl,
I can't go with you now.
Such an engagement have I fix'd,
My hope is vain of strawberries mix'd
With extract of the cow!

'Extract of the cow! ha! ha! ha!—meaning cream! ha! ha!—but you are in a hurry! Good morning! Let me see you if you come into this neighbourhood again!—Extract of the cow! There's for you!'

"To this extract I shall only add that I am,

"Dear * * *,

"Your's most truly,

"* * * *."

CHAPTER XIX.

Proposed publication of Mr. Reginald Heber's hymns—Letters from the Bishop of London——Dean of St. Asaph's illness—— Translation from the "Bostan" of Sadi—Catholic Question— Birth of Mr. Reginald Heber's second child—Hymns by the Rev. H. H. Milman—"Sicilian Vespers"—Manchester riots— Oxford University Election—Death of Dr. Hodson. 1820—1822.

The collection of hymns on which Mr. Reginald Heber had long been occasionally engaged, was now far advanced. He was anxious to secure the Bishop of London's (Dr. Howley) approbation of the work, and his advice on the propriety of endeavouring to obtain the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Manners Sutton) for its general use in Churches. With these views he wrote the annexed letter. The Bishop, although he did not consider his scheme as, at that time, advisable, yet took a kind interest in the success of the collection itself, and suggested some valuable hints on the construction of some of the hymns submitted to him, which were received with great deference by the author. As the approbation of so eminent a scholar and divine was very gratifying to her husband, and is honourable to his memory, the editor feels grateful for the permission given her to publish a short extract from the answer to his application, as well as from a letter of a later date, which, however, will be introduced with more propriety in this place.

To the Right Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London.

Hodnet Rectory, October 4, 1820.

"My Lord,

"I had so frequent experience of your kindness during your residence in Oxford, that I cannot help hoping that you will ex-

cuse the trouble which I am now going to give you in requesting your advice, and, possibly, your assistance, on a subject in which I feel much interested. And I am the more anxious to recur to you, not only on account of your very accurate and extensive knowledge of church discipline and ecclesiastical antiquity, but because the great age and infirmity of my own diocesan, the Bishop of Lichfield, make it improper to plague him with any business not absolutely necessary.

"I have for several years back been from time to time, and during the intervals of more serious study, engaged in forming a collection of hymns for the different Sundays in the year, as well as for the principal festivals and Saints' days, connected, for the most part, with the history or doctrine contained in the gospel for each day. I began this work with the intention of using it in my own church, a liberty which I need not tell your Lordship, has been, for many years back, pretty generally taken by the clergy, and which, if custom alone were to be our guide, would seem already sufficiently authorised. Thus the morning and evening hymn of Bishop Kenn, are, in country parishes, almost universally used. Hardly a collection is made for charitable purposes without a hymn for the occasion. Of the anthems used in our cathedrals, many are taken from other sources than either the Scripture or the Liturgy. And, even in sacred oratorios, such songs as 'Angels ever bright and fair,' &c. may be considered admissions of the right to introduce into places of worship compositions not regularly authorised by the rubric. But the most remarkable instance of the kind, which I have met with, was during the installation of the Duke of Gloucester at Cambridge, when, during divine service, in the University church, and in the presence of her Reverend and Right Reverend heads, I heard a poem sung in the style of Darwin, in which the passion flower was described as a virgin, devoting herself to religion, attended by as many youth as the plant has stamina.

"I might, then, perhaps, without troubling your Lordship, have been content to transgress the rubric in so good company, and have taken the same license with my neighbours, had I not, in looking over the popular collection from which I wished to glean for my own, been much shocked and scandalized at many

things which I found, and which are detestable, not in taste only, but, to the highest degree, in doctrine and sentiment. The famous couplet.

> 'Come ragged and guilty,
> Come loathsome and bare,'—

is far more tolerable than many which I could instance; and, I own, I began to dislike a liberty, however, conceded or assumed, which had been abused so shamefully. Many of my friends, indeed, quote such passages as a sufficient reason for excluding from the church service all but the authorised versions of Psalms. But thus to argue from the abuse of hymns against their decent and orderly use, does not seem very accurate logic, and there are many reasons why I should regret passing so severe a sentence on all for the faults of some.

"1st. The fondness of the lower classes for these compositions is well known. Every clergyman finds that, if he does not furnish his singers with hymns, they are continually favouring him with some of their own selection; their use has been always the principal engine of popularity with the dissenters, and with those who are called the 'Evangelical' party; and I have found, in conversing with the lower classes, that they really do not understand or appreciate the prophetic allusions of the Psalms of David, and require, besides the glorious moral and devotional lessons which these last contain, something more directly applicable to Christ, the Trinity, and the different holydays which the Christian church observes. And it may, therefore, be thought unwise to surrender to the service of our enemies a means which is, in their hands, so powerful in attracting the multitude, and of which we ourselves might make so good a use. Nor can it be replied that this would prove too much, and and operate in favour, even of those abominations which I have just reprobated, and which are supposed to be, many of them, but too popular with the lower orders.

"The taste of the lower orders is, in this respect, often underrated. Their love of devotional poetry is ardent, and they, therefore, take whatever comes in their way; while those who have catered for them, have not been very scrupulous as to the

nature of the aliment which they procured. But that they can taste the good as well as the bad is plain from the universal popularity of the two beautiful hymns for morning and evening, by Bishop Kenn, which are more generally sung by a cottage fire-side than any other compositions with which I am acquainted. It might seem, then, no difficult matter to accustom them to a better style of poetry than that with which they are now satisfied.

"2dly. The whole stream of precedent in the Christian Church, from the remotest antiquity, authorises and encourages the use of hymns as well as of the Psalms of David. The hymn which Pliny mentions as sung, '*Christo quasi Deo*,' can hardly have been a Psalm. Socrates Hist. vi. § 8. speaks of St. Ignatius as the inventor, Των αντιφωνων ὑμνων την ἀρχην Τρωαδα ὑμνουντων. It is not, indeed, clear whether the use of hymns generally, or of the alternate way of chaunting them is here intended. But, be this as it may, it appears that hymns were used in the Church of Antioch on the authority of Ignatius. Tertullian Apol. § 39. says, '*Post aquam manualem et lumina, ut quisque de S. S. vel* DE PROPRIO INGENIO *potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere.*' And we have still the words of the *hymnus lucernalis*, which was most frequently used on these occasions. Hilary is mentioned by Jerome (Cat. Script. Op. T. i. p. 192.) as author of a book of hymns. So at least the Latin runs; but in the Greek of Jerome's work, nothing of the sort is mentioned. But that Hilary did compose such a book, is plain from a decree of the fourth council of Toledo, Can. 13. (Delectus Actorum T. i. p. 494.) '*De non renuendo pronuntiare hymnos*,' in which the hymns are specified '*quos beatissimi Doctores* HILARIUS *et Ambrosius ediderunt.*' I do not know whether any of the hymns now in the Romish breviary are the work of Hilary. That very many of them have been retained there ever since the time of St. Ambrose, there is no reason for doubting. The religious poetry of this latter Father is collected at the end of the folio edition of his works, and, with one exception, (that of the '*Vexilla Regis prodeunt*,) appears to be genuine. The breviary contains also three hymns of Prudentius, one of which is very beautiful, for Innocents' day, and some by later writers. The

number altogether is, I should think, twenty or thirty, containing hymns for every day in the week, &c. I have laid no stress on Synesius, because I do not know that his hymns were sung publicly. The Greek Church, however, has followed the same line of conduct with the Latin. The liturgies too of the Lutheran Churches all abound with compositions of the same kind, so that if such aids to devotion were refused by the English Church, she would act in opposition to the great body of Christians in all ages.

"There is, indeed, a canon of the council of Laodicea, which has been often quoted, and which forbids the use ἰδιωτικων ὑμνων. But this, according to the natural meaning of the word ἰδιωτης, can only mean hymns brought in by *private persons*, without the permission or authority of the bishop. At all events, I have the council of Toledo to set against that of Laodicea; and it is perfectly certain that if the prohibition just mentioned *were* meant to apply to all hymns of human composition, that prohibition was never enforced either in the eastern or western Churches.

"3dly. The compilers of our liturgy appear to have been by no means unfavourable to the use of hymns. Besides the '*Benedicite*' and the '*Te Deum*,' they have given us the '*Veni Creator*' in the Ordination Service. And at the end of the old version of the Psalms are several hymns 'A Prayer to the Holy Ghost,' 'The humble suit of a Sinner,' &c. And we are therefore, I conceive, warranted to infer that they would have favourably received any decent hymns for the holydays, &c. if not as regular and necessary parts of the Service, yet with the same permission which they have given to anthems, and to the works of Sternhold and his coadjutors. And the license afterwards given to the version of the Psalms by Tate and Brady, seems to prove that there has always been a disposition on the part of our rulers to accommodate their laws in such matters to the taste and temper of the age. The evil indeed, if it be one, of the admission of hymns into our Churches has, by this time, spread so widely, and any attempt to suppress it entirely would be so unpopular, and attended with so much difficulty, that I cannot help thinking it would be wiser, as well as more practicable, to

regulate the liberty thus assumed, instead of authoritatively taking it away. Nor can I conceive any method by which this object might be better obtained than by the publication of a selection which should, at least, have the praise of excluding whatever was improper in diction or sentiment; and might be on this, if on no other ground, thought not unworthy a license of the same kind as that which was given to the Psalms of Tate and Brady. I have the vanity to think that even my own compositions are not inferior in poetical merit to those of Tate; and my collection will contain some from our older poets, which it would be mockery to speak of in the same breath with his. There are a few also which I have extracted from the popular collections usually circulated, which, though I have not been able to learn their authors, possess considerable merit and much popularity, and are entirely free from objectionable expressions. Nor am I without hope, if encouraged by your Lordship to proceed, of obtaining the powerful assistance of my friends Scott and Southey. By far the greater part, however of my present collection are of my own making, a circumstance which, I trust, will not expose me to the imputation of vanity, when the difficulty is considered of finding unexceptionable words suitable to the plan which I have adopted. I have given the names of the authors from whose works I have extracted any hymns. My own I have marked with my initials. But my collection is yet in MS. and has still some *lacunæ* to fill up.

"Under these circumstances, my Lord, I feel I am taking a great liberty, but one for which I hope I shall be pardoned, in requesting to know whether you think it possible or advisable for me to obtain the same kind of permission for the use of my hymns in Churches which was given to Tate? and if so, what is the channel through which I should apply? Or if, from the mediocrity of my work, or for any other reason, this would be improper or unattainable, whether I may conscientiously assume the same liberty that many of my neighbours do, and have a few copies printed, not for publication, but for the use of my own Church? This I should, on some accounts, prefer, so far as I am myself concerned, to the more ambitious project, inasmuch as I am well aware that no great renown is to be expected by

the publisher of religious poetry; but I am really doubtful as to the propriety of the measure; or whether the long connivance of our superiors can fairly be construed into a *tacit permission* to introduce unauthorized compositions into the public worship. On all these points, then, I earnestly request your Lordship's advice, by which, I beg you to believe, I shall be implicitly guided. I cannot venture to trouble you to inspect my whole MS. but you will be in some measure enabled to form your opinion of it by the following hymns, being the first in my collection. Should you not be unfavourable to my plan of publishing, I should esteem most highly the advantage of your criticism, and would thankfully conform to whatever improvement you might suggest either of addition, omission, or alteration. I ought to mention that most of my hymns are applicable to the Psalm tunes in common use. The few which vary from this rule are adapted to different ancient melodies of approved composers. Should publication be thought advisable, whatever profit may arise beyond the payment of expenses, would be applied to the benefit of our national school at Hodnet.

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obliged
and obedient humble servant,
"REGINALD HEBER."

From the Right Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London.

October, 1820.

"MY DEAR SIR,

* * "At present our time is so much engrossed with business infinitely less pleasant than hymns of prayer or praise, that I can hardly do more than acknowledge the receipt of your very sensible remarks, accompanied by hymns of no ordinary merit. I will write to you more at large when I can give full attention to this very interesting subject, and have the opportunity of consulting others. The first impression on my mind is, that things are hardly yet ripe for obtaining the sanction of authority at present, and that publication in the common way would have the effect of making the compositions known,

and obtaining that general approbation which might prepare the way for further measures. But I would be understood not to give this as a mature opinion, wishing to have time for fuller consideration. I have read the hymns marked R. H. with great pleasure; and from the feeling which they excite in my mind (having no other direction for my judgment of poetry) am led to think them very good. To some single expressions I might perhaps object. The language is simple—as in this sort of poetry it ought to be, and generally pure, which I think equally essential; free from that poetical common-place which destroys the effect of poetry, especially sacred, and dilutes the strength of the thoughts in vague generalities of expression.

* * * * * *

"I remain, my dear Sir,

"With great truth and sincerity, your's,

"W. LONDON."

From the Right Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London.

June 20, 1821.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"* * * Your devotional poetry has often recurred to my mind. Our national literature is defective in that branch, and I shall rejoice to see the want supplied by writers like you and Mr. Milman. On consideration, I am not of opinion that any publication of this nature, however well executed, will obtain sanction from authority; and I am not sure whether such a measure ought to *precede* the general approbation of the public. Perhaps it will be impossible to suit every taste; it may be doubtful whether the common people will have any relish for ornamented poetry. The sublimity of Milton on sacred subjects, has I believe, few admirers among the illiterate. The common poetical forms which the paucity of rhymes makes necessary in our language, are almost inconsistent with the genius of Hebrew poetry, which seems in a great measure to derive its effects from the small number of words it employs, and the incorporation of the particles, prepositions, and pronouns, with the nouns and verbs. Hence arise a simplicity and rapid-

ity which give the ideas in full force, and *immediate* succession to the mind. * * * You will judge of the propriety of my observations, and will see the inferences I should draw from them. It is, however, far from my intention to discourage you. You have no reason to be frighted by difficulties, and I am persuaded, that whatever you may think proper to publish, will both deserve and obtain applause.

"Believe me, my dear Sir, with great regard,

"Your's truly,

"W. LONDON."

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Bodryddan, October 23, 1820.

"I adopted the measure which you suggested as soon as I reached home, and wrote to Hay on the subject of lithography. I had, the other day, an answer, written with his usual kindness and good nature, but not encouraging me to have recourse to this method of multiplying copies of my poems.

* * * * * * *

"The Dean has rallied wonderfully, nor could any body take him for a man of seventy-five, who had so recently recovered from such an attack. He preached yesterday in the Cathedral of St. Asaph, a long and eloquent sermon on the occasion of his own illness and recovery, and of the spiritual improvement to be derived from either witnessing or experiencing such visitations, with as strong and clear a voice as usual, and proving, as I thought, that his illness had, in no respect, produced the same effects on him as on the Archbishop in Gil Blas. His life is most valuable, not only to his own family, but to all this neighbourhood, where his kindness to the poor and his tenants, and his activity as a magistrate, have been, for many years, great and unremitting.

"Hornby has sent me his poem on 'Childhood' to look over. I have not yet paid much attention to it, but think what I have seen very pretty, and likely to be popular. The chief danger seems to be his bringing religion too prominently and too tech-

nically forward. His views of religion, however, are all, as they ought to be, consoling and amiable.

"Your obliged friend,

"REGINALD HEBER."

To the Reverend H. H. Milman.

Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 5, 1820.

"DEAR MILMAN,

"I have been for some years back employing a part of my leisure, of which, indeed, I have no great quantity, in making a collection of hymns, adapted to the different Sundays and Saints' days in the year, and connected, in a greater or less degree, with the subject of the Gospel appointed for each day. Most are, as yet, of my own composition, though I have taken some pains to select the best out of the different popular Hymn-books which have already appeared, and though Scott and Southey have given me some hopes of their powerful aid. My wish is to get them licensed to be used in Churches in the same manner as Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms; and I communicated my plan, with a sample of what I had already done, some time ago, to the Bishop of London, who spoke favourably of those which I sent him, and encouraged me to proceed. Under these circumstances, am I trespassing too much on your good nature in requesting your assistance and contribution to the collection? I know with what facility you write poetry, and all the world knows with what success you write religious poetry. I really think, if the undertaking prospers, it may be the means of rendering good service to the Church, and to the cause of rational piety, by taking place of the vile trash, vile in sentiment and theology, as well as style, which prevails more or less in all the collections which I have seen; at the same time that experience shows us that the common people require something more *obviously* appropriate to Christian feelings than the Psalms of David alone, and that the hymns of the dissenters, objectionable as they many of them are, are a powerful engine of popularity, which draws several from the Church who are very well content with her in other respects. I subjoin a specimen of what I have done, that you may understand my plan

more perfectly, and be aware of the sort of company in which your verses, if you favour me with any, will appear. I send a list of the Sundays for which I have as yet no appropriate hymns; but I should be happy to admit any composition of yours for such other days as may suit you, for several of which I have more than one; or on miscellaneous subjects, of which last kind I have a good many, which I mean to print in an appendix.

"I am glad to hear, from Augustus Hare, that you have some thoughts of standing for the poetry professorship. I need hardly say that I shall sincerely rejoice in your success, both for your own sake and for that of the university; and should you meet with opposition, which I can hardly suppose, you may reckon on my vote, and best efforts in your favour.

"Believe me, dear Milman,

"Very truly your's,

"REGINALD HEBER."

"If, as you once gave me some reason to hope, and as I still flatter myself is not unlikely, you can give us a few days at Hodnet during this winter or spring, I should like to show you the rest of my collection, and should be glad to enjoy the advantage of your suggestions and criticisms."

To the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 16, 1820.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"The information which you have kindly sent me respecting Jeremy Taylor's election and residence at All Souls is very satisfactory, and, to the writer of his life, important. It proves, I think, that both the college and the visiter were well disposed to favour his pretensions; but that the former, not being able to reconcile them with the spirit and intention of their statutes, chose rather to allow the fellowship to lapse, than either to disoblige the archbishop, or go the whole length which he wished them. I agree with your Lordship that it may be desirable, in mentioning the circumstances, to pass it over without any very lengthened note or comment; but, as it is just possible that the rights of

the college might be compromised by saying either too much or or too little, I shall be greatly obliged if you will permit me to show you that passage in my book before it goes to the press, which, by-the-bye, will not be for several months, in order that I may be sure that I have stated the transaction correctly and distinctly. I feel quite ashamed of occasioning any further trouble either to your Lordship or Cartwright, to whom may I beg you to offer my best thanks for his kindness; but as I cannot, in any part of this neighbourhood, find a copy of Pope Nicholas's valuation of livings, I should be much obliged to him if he would, at his leisure, ascertain from this source, whether Uppingham was tenable with a fellowship. By the king's books, as given in Ecton, it is not, being above 20*l*. It would also be desirable, in pursuance of the suggestion contained in the memoranda which your Lordship has transmitted to me, to ascertain at what time Taylor's name was entered on the books of University College.

"Heneage Legge has conferred a most essential obligation on the undertakers of the new edition of Taylor, by helping us to our hero's likeness. I hope the engraving will be executed in a manner not unworthy of his pencil.

"Believe me, my dear Lord,

"Sincerely your obliged and obedient humble servant,

"REGINALD HEBER."

To the Rev. J. Oxlee.

Hodnet Rectory, Feb. 26, 1821.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"You are almost the only person of my acquaintance likely to help me in a question of considerable difficulty and interest, relating to the life of Jeremy Taylor, in which I am now engaged. I mean the source from whence he derived the beautiful parable of Abraham and the worshipper of fire, whom he drove from his tent for refusing to bless Jehovah, which concludes the 'Liberty of Prophesying,' and which Franklin afterwards, without acknowledgement, worked up, with some slight alterations,

into his celebrated parable on persecution.* Taylor, contrary to his usual custom, gives no marginal reference, and merely says that he found it 'in the Jews' books.' Now, it is not to be

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* Mr. Reginald Heber was, subsequently, indebted to Lord Teignmouth for the information which he here requires.

Translation of a story from the Bostan of Sadi.

"I have heard that, once during a whole week no traveller came to the hospitable dwelling of the friend of God, whose amiable nature led him to observe it as a rule, not to eat in the morning, unless some needy person arrived from a journey. He went out, and turned his eyes towards every place. He viewed the valley on all sides, and beheld in the desert a solitary man resembling the willow, whose head and beard were whitened with the snow of age. To encourage him, he called him friend, and, agreeably to the manners of the munificent, gave him an invitation saying, 'Oh Apple of mine eye, perform an act of courtesy by becoming my guest!' He assented, arose, and stepped forward readily; for he knew the disposition of his host, on whom be peace. The associates of Abraham's hospitable dwelling seated the old man with respect. The table was ordered to be spread, and the company placed themselves around. When the assembly began to utter in the name of God, (or to say grace,) and not a word was heard to proceed from the old man, Abraham addressed him in such terms as these: 'Oh elder, stricken in years, thou appearest not to me in faith and zeal like other aged ones; for is it not an obligatory law to invoke, at the time of eating your daily bread, that divine Providence from whence it is derived?' He replied, 'I practise no rite which I have not heard from my priest, who worshippeth fire.' The good-omened prophet discovered this vitiated old man to be a Gueber; and finding him an alien to the faith, drove him away in miserable plight: the polluted being ejected by those that are pure. A voice from the glorious and omnipotent God was heard, with this severe reprehension: O friend! I have supported him through a life of an hundred years, and thou hast conceived an abhorrence of him all at once. If a man pay adoration to fire, shouldst thou withhold the hand of liberality?'

"*Asiatic Miscellany, Calcutta*, 1789."

Dr. Franklin's imitation of the Scriptural style.

"And it came to pass, after these things, that Abraham sat in the door of his tent, about the going down of the sun, and behold a man, bent with age, coming from the way of the wilderness, leaning on a staff; and Abraham arose and met him, and said unto him, 'Turn in, I pray thee, and wash thy feet, and tarry all night; and thou shalt arise early in the morning, and go on thy way.' And the man said 'Nay; for I will abide under this tree.' But Abraham pressed him greatly: so he turned, and they went in unto the tent. And Abraham baked unleavened bread, and they did eat. And when Abraham saw that the man blessed not God, he said unto him, 'Wherefore dost thou not worship the most high God, Creator of Heaven and earth?' And the man answered and said, 'I do not worship thy God, neither do I call upon his name; for I have made unto myself a God, which abideth always in mine house, and provideth me with all things.' And Abraham's zeal was kindled against the man;

found either in the Mischna, nor in any of the notes by various authors, annexed to the edition of that work by Surenhusius. There are no traces of it in Bartolocci's Bibliotheca Rabbinnica, nor in the Maimonides de Idololatria, nor in his More-Nevochim in which last work, indeed, one would scarcely expect to find it. Nor do I find it quoted or referred to in any of the works of Schöetgen or Wagenseil, which I have met with. It is, if it exists at all, probably in the Gemara, but I have no Talmud in my possession, and I do not know of any nearer than Oxford; nor, indeed, am I sufficiently skilled in the language to make much progress, without a guide in that vast labyrinth. Possibly your extensive knowledge in Jewish literature may have brought the passage in your way; or, at all events, you will be able to give a good guess whereabouts it should be looked for, if, indeed, it exists; for it is remarkable that this is the only instance in which Taylor gives any sign of familiarity with the Talmud; and it is strange that so beautiful a story should not have been seen and quoted by others besides him. I have, therefore, some little suspicion that it is his own invention, and that he has merely called it a Jewish story to introduce it with better grace. Any information which you may supply, will be most gratefully received by me.

"I have read and re-read with great pleasure, and (except in a very few minor particulars) with full conviction, your second volume of 'proofs of the Trinity and Incarnation.' It is most provoking that the inveterate prejudice, or ignorant indifference of the public, should give so little encouragement to the progress of such a work, or to the cultivation of a literature containing so much curious and important matter. I should rejoice to hear, that the importance of your subject and the talent with which

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and he arose, and fell upon him, and drove him forth with blows into the wilderness. And God called unto Abraham, saying, 'Abraham, Where is the stranger?' And Abraham answered and said, 'Lord, he would not worship thee, neither would he call upon thy name; therefore have I driven him from before my face into the wilderness.' And God said, 'I have borne with him these hundred and ninety-eight years, and nourished him, and clothed him, notwithstanding his rebellion against me; and couldst not thou, who art thyself a sinner, bear with him one night?'"

you have managed it, have overcome these difficulties to a greater degree than we anticipated."

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Chester, April 24, 1821.

" * * * We hope to return home the end of this week after a six weeks' residence in Chester, during which, however, I have made two trips, one to Shrewsbury for the assizes, the other home for Passion week. The former of these offered nothing at all remarkable, except the execution of a poor collier for rioting, in spite of considerable exertion to obtain his pardon, which succeeded in the instance of one of his companions who was also condemned, but not with this man, owing, I believe, to his previous bad character.

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" * * * The Roman Catholic question has excited this time far less interest than I expected, either during or since the decision. A party of the gentry of Cheshire, who were most of them decided ultra tory, with whom I was a week ago, were generally disposed to favour the measure. In Shropshire a similar division of opinions, or, perhaps, to speak more properly, suspension of opinions has existed; and all attempts to get up a Protestant petition were received so coolly as to be strangled in the birth. Here, in Chester, the Cathedral bells were rung when the decision was known; but the clergy, in general, profess themselves sorry that this was done.

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" * * * I was glad to see you had an opportunity of speaking on reform, and liked much what you said, so far as the newspapers gave me the means of judging.

* * * * *

" I hardly know whether to be sorry or glad for the event of the Italian troubles. The Spanish constitution, which seems to be regarded in the south of Europe as good for all complaints, a sort of '*catholicon d'Espagne*,' is as bad a one as can be contrived; and the character of the Italian patriots seemed of a very Birmingham description; but one can hardly help feeling

that in Italy, under its present system, almost any conceivable change might be for the better. The best hope is, that the alarm which has been given, may induce the different governments to compromise the matter with their subjects, by giving them the French charter.

"All the world seems quiet, and the late release of the radicals from Chester castle, which it was intended to celebrate with a procession at Stockport, has passed *sub silentio*. I saw them in their prison some days before. Baggerley's long beard was imposing, and he looked the rebel extremely well; all, however, with the exception of Johnson the tailor, a fine intelligent, middle aged man are poor animals; all seemed heartily tired of imprisonment, and expressed their hope that they should not get into similar scrapes again.

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To the Rev. E. T. S. Hornby.

Hodnet Rectory, April 30, 1821.

"My Dear Hornby,

"Your last letter had to follow me from this place to Chester, where it found me full of the letter-writing, and other occupations consequent to an increase of my family, so that in fact I had hardly time or inclination to think of any thing which was not immediately connected with wife or daughter. This happy bustle (for, thank God, the health of both my treasures has been such as to alloy my happiness with no more than a very small proportion of anxiety) will, I hope, plead my excuse for not sooner answering what, from the kindness of its expressions, no less than from the flattering nature of the compliment which it conveyed to me, certainly called for an immediate answer.

"When I arrived home on Saturday, I found your work itself lying on my table, for which, as well as for the very kind and gratifying, though undeserved, manner in which you have spoken of me in your preface, I can only offer in return my best thanks, and the assurance of the high and sincere value which I set on your good opinion and your friendship. That I may long retain them both, and that we may have better opportunities for cultivating and enjoying the latter than have, for many years

past, been in our power, is my earnest wish and hope. But, whatever may be our future prospects of intercourse here, I am not one of those who apprehend that a well-grounded esteem even for earthly beings will perish with the present world; and I trust I am not presumptuous in cherishing the hope that many of the friendships begun here, may be among the sources of our everlasting happiness hereafter. God grant, if it be his will, that this may be so with us!

"Believe me, my dear Hornby,

"Sincerely your obliged friend,

"REGINALD HEBER."

To the Rev. H. H. Milman.

Hodnet Rectory, May 11, 1821.

"MY DEAR MILMAN,

* * * * *

"I rejoice to hear so good an account of the progress which your Saint is making towards her crown, and feel really grateful for the kindness which enables you, while so occupied, to recollect my hymn book. I have in the last month received some assistance from ———, which would once have pleased me well; but alas! your advent, Good Friday, and Palm Sunday hymns have spoilt me for all other attempts of the sort. There are several Sundays yet vacant, and a good many of the Saints' days. But I need not tell you that any of the other days will either carry double, or, if you prefer it, the compositions which now occupy them will 'contract their arms for you, and recede from as much of heaven' as you may require. When our volume is completed, I shall be very anxious to have a day or two with you to arrange the weeding of the collection. If you would enable me, I should gladly get rid of by far the greater part of my compilation. But this is more than can be expected; and if you saw the heaps of manure which I have been obliged to turn over to gain a few barley corns, you would not think so ill of my diligence as a *spicilegist* as I believe you now do.

"Ever your's truly,

"REGINALD HEBER."

"Have we no chance of seeing you here this summer? Surely your saint will not engross you much longer. I have kept your secret faithfully, but feel very impatient for her appearance. Many thanks for your kind congratulations. My wife and baby are both as well as I could wish them."

To R. W. Hay, Esq.

Hodnet, May 28, 1821.

"My Dear Hay,

" * * * I heard from Wilmot that you had by no means been converted to the faith of the Carbonari during your travels. For those redoubted warriors alas, and the system of which they are a part, even the Edinburgh Review has not been able to make out a tolerable case. I own I have attended with much grief of heart to the whole of their advance and continuance, as what, if crushed, would only make the Austrian yoke sit heavier on Italy,—if successful, would be a precedent in favour of jacobinism all over the world, and eventually bring liberty itself into discredit by the excesses which would be committed under that mask. How often we have heard it said that the horrours of the French revolution were entirely produced by the irritation and danger occasioned to that country by the aggression of the surrounding old governments; and that, if France had been left to herself, nothing atrocious would have happened. And how completely have the proceedings in Spain, since the revolution, given the lie to this doctrine. It would be very comfortable if one were sure that all this evil would, in the end, produce good; and that sensible and practical systems of freedom would take place of the fashionable Spanish constitution. One cannot help hoping that this is still possible; but, at present, the world is bad enough, and there seems little chance of its growing better in our time. One of the few things which have given me pleasure in the late Italian scuffle, is the part which England has acted in keeping quite out of the war, and at the same time, expressing an anxiety for the welfare of Sicily.

"By the bye, where have you been? I have only heard of your being in Italy, without any further particulars. I should

think myself happy to hear from you when you have time, if it were only to know whether you agree with Rose in his account of the Austrians in Milan, Venice, &c. You, as speaking German, are by far more likely to have heard both sides, and formed an impartial opinion, than any of the observers who have preceded you. I liked the Austrians so well in their own country that I would fain hope all their doings in Italy are not so bad as we are told they are.

"In England you have found us, I think, a little wiser, or, at least, quieter than we were when you left us ; * *

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* * * and though the farmers still grumble a little about the queen, a sort of sneer mingles with their mention of her. They are, however, all wretchedly poor, and many of them appear to be losing hope and spirit. Rents have, indeed, been pretty generally lowered ; and though not to the degree of reduction which will, probably, be necessary, yet enough to give them a little comfort, if not relief. Many of them, I believe, pray for a bad harvest, which aspiration the present unseasonable weather seems to make it probable will not be denied to them. Poor rates, however, are falling rather than rising, a circumstance which seems to show the impropriety of the maximum clause in Mr. Scarlett's projected bill.

" My Jeremy Taylor's life is making a tolerably rapid progress, though I still labour under a great scarcity of fresh or original matter. In the Quarterly I have done nothing since Wesley, but by the next quarter I am not without hope of being able to renew my functions there. Whether I shall get to town is, at present, very uncertain. My curate is soon going to leave me, and though I have good hopes of speedily supplying his place, my flock must not, in the meantime, be left in the wilderness. Oxford, I think I shall be obliged to visit ; and, if I can spare time, the attraction of London will probably be, at that place, so great, as to draw me still further from my usual narrow orbit.

" How much I wish you could come down to us some part of the summer ; we have now bow meetings, and other kinds of serio-comic *fetês* in our neighbourhood. I am sure you will, not

be sorry to learn that my wife and her little girl are both well; the latter, indeed, as fat and healthy as a damsel of two months old need to be.

"How do you like Lord Byron's Faliero? I am out of patience with it; it has all Alfieri's coldness and want of interest, without his strength and stateliness. I have just read a noble MS. play on the subject of the Sicilian Vespers, by a very pretty women, an authoress in North Wales. If she can get it on the stage I really think it will succeed."

To John Thornton, Esq.

June 3, 1821.

"I felt much obliged to you for your kind information as to the mistake which appears to have gone abroad concerning my share in Jeremy Taylor. I cannot account for it, since I have looked over all the advertisements, none of which promise any thing but a uniform reprint of the former editions. My share in the business has been arrangement, selection of what pieces were really Jeremy Taylor's, and, what I am now engaged in, a life of the author, and a critical account of his works. Nothing more, in fact, could have been done by me, except correcting the press, which, at this distance from London, was impossible, unless I had verified the quotations and written notes, which, had it been contemplated, would, of course, have been particularised in the prospectus. The advantages of a new edition were there expressly said to be those of a uniform edition of Taylor, instead of volumes of all sizes and descriptions, and the reprint of tracts, which, in their present state are, many of them, almost '*introuvables.*' I have, however, cautioned my booksellers more particularly as to the kind of professions they may hold out; and my brother has taken all the pains in his power to state publicly what share I really have in the undertaking."

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, June 14, 1821.

"* * * As for the coronation, I yet hope to see it to good advantage, unrolled from an ivory cylinder after the manner of Epsom races.

"I rejoice exceedingly that the king's expedition is to take place; * * * * * * * * * If, after visiting Ireland, he sails in his yatcht to Glasgow, and thence returns by Edinburgh and York, he will have done much, very much, towards regaining a positive and personal hold on the affections of a people who are naturally more inclined to admire and serve the stately figure whose smiles and bows they have shared in, than the abstract term which they have only known as G. R. on the top of a tax-paper, or which they have seen embodied in the vile caricatures of Hone and Company. I verily believe the Welch could hardly have rejoiced more if Arthur had risen again, than in the prospect of seeing him; all those who handle harp or organ anticipating royal applause, and all those who write dissertations and publish archæologies, looking forwards to the establishment of British professorships in the universities, and many similar *avatars* of bounty and patronage. Of course many, if not all these hopes will be disappointed.

"I see by the newspapers that you have not been idle in parliament, though of the merits of your speeches, no paper can enable one to form even a tolerable judgment. It is plain, however, that you have a very strong and increasing hold on the ear of the house, which is saying enough for your success thus far, and for your future prospects. I fear I should have divided against you on the Manchester question, though I thought your speech read well, and that you had chosen your ground judiciously. I have not met with any person among the magistrates, or their friends, who has been able to contradict, in any material circumstance, the account given by Edward Stanley; and with that account before me, I cannot see in their conduct any thing like a sound discretion. Among the other topics of the day, I am aware of none in which I disagree with you.

"I am pretty much out of the way of seeing new books. I believe you know my mind on the subject of *Faliero;* and of the Arctic voyage, all that can be said is, that Captain Parry has made certainly as large a book, and, perhaps, as amusing a one, for its size, as could be made on so barren a subject. *

* * * * * *

Have you read Hornby's 'Childhood?' It contains some passages which I most earnestly, though vainly, intreated him to expunge from his MS. There is much, however, which pleases me, and enough, in a less poetic age, to have given its author a very pretty freehold on the temple of fame. Mrs. Hemans has written a tragedy on the subject of the Sicilian Vespers, of which it is saying too little to praise it as better than any which, for several years back, has been brought on the stage, and which I think, would really make a popular acting play. It is by far the best of her productions. * * * *
God bless and prosper you!"

To the Rev. H. H. Milman.

Hodnet Rectory, August, 1821

"My Dear Milman,

"You will, I fear, have thought me very inattentive and ungrateful in not acquainting you with my movements, and the necessity I was under of declining your kind invitation, and hurrying down to Shrewsbury. The truth is, I was really so ill as to shrink, at the moment, from pen, ink, and paper; while, after I had recovered a little from my forced march into Shropshire, and my subsequent sermon at the assizes, (both which agreed but ill with a continued flux, which held me from Sunday to Friday,) I was obliged to set myself to work for another sermon for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Since that time, I have been but slowly recovering from the effects of my complaint, and have had a good deal of plague in parish business.

"I could hardly have fallen ill at a more inconvenient moment than the last day of a contested election; but there were few circumstances which made me regret my indisposition more than its robbing me of my visit to St. Mary's, and of the pilgrimage which I had hoped for your permission to pay to the shrine of the virgin martyr, whom you seem still inclined to withhold from the devotions of the world. I heartily hope she will not long remain thus concealed. I have, indeed, besides the natural anxiety which all the readers of your former poems must feel for her appearance, a private reason of my own for wishing you

delivered of her, inasmuch as, till then, I can hardly hope for more hymns, for which, however, I am very anxious. Heber has another election, fortunately not a contested one, impending over him, in his character of sheriff. The whigs at first grumbled a little at both seats for the county being likely to be occupied by tories; but the alarm appears to have subsided, and it is almost certain that Sir John Hill's grandson* will walk over the course. My wife is at her father's, whither I am going to-morrow to join her."

To R. W. Hay, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, September 8, 1821.

"I have, for several days back, been meditating an epistolary attack on you, but this is one of the earliest on which I have been really equal to writing letters. The portentous heat of the day and of the room when and where I last met you, joined to my own anxiety, and one or two other circumstances incident to the occasion, completely overpowered me. I was laid up with a fever from Friday morning to Monday, and on Tuesday and Wednesday so completely knocked up by a forced march to Shrewsbury, and a sermon before the judges, that I have hardly yet recovered a reasonable strength of nerve, or my usual powers of exertion. The success to which you so kindly contributed ought to have cured me, or at least prevented the severity of my complaint; but I do not think it did me much good, though I have little doubt I should have been considerably worse if I had had the additional depression of disappointment. As it is I have nothing the matter with me save languor; but as I have not often the honour of experiencing that sensation, it makes a greater impression on me, and unfits me more for active exertion than, perhaps, an equal degree of it would with many other men. On Monday I am setting off to join my wife by the sea side, and rely on her nursing and the salt air and salt water, with some little swimming, to put me in good condition against a formidable operation which awaits me in October,—that of presiding at a feast given by the yeomanry of this neighbourhood,

* The present Sir Rowland Hill, Bart., M. P. for Salop.

in honour of my brother's success. It was to have taken place immediately, but the bad harvest stood my good friend, and our well-wishers were not more inclined than I was to hurry their rejoicings before they had gotten in their wheat. Our harvest is as bad as any thing can be, and a great proportion of the corn is already no better than dung on the ground. It is happy for the country that there is still much old wheat in the hands of the farmers. These last, however, say that if the ports are to be opened for foreign wheat, they must be ruined, as they have no crop this year to put in competition with it. They have, I think, begun to forget the queen, though the anxiety manifested in this and the neighbouring villages to have the pulpit hung with black, and the general adoption of mourning by the middling and lower classes, seem indications of the strong hold which she has, to the last, retained on their feelings and prejudices.

"Believe me with much and sincere regard,

"Ever your obliged friend,

"Reginald Heber."

The contested election to which the two preceding letters refer, was for the representation of the University of Oxford; Sir John Nicholl and Mr. Heber were the candidates, and the latter was much indebted for his success to the exertions of his brother, which for many weeks had been unremitting, and at length produced a severe attack of fever. Mr. Reginald Heber's opinion on the question of catholic emancipation was opposed to that of the university; but his character and general popularity induced many, to whom he was personally unknown, to undertake a long journey with the express intention of obliging him by voting for his brother. The brothers also differed on this point; and in a speech made by Mr. Reginald Heber at the time of the election, with the view of publicly making known Mr. Heber's "determined hostility to the enlargement of the political power possessed by the Roman Catholics," he stated that he had frequently, but ineffectually, argued with him on this article of their political creed. The general bent of his political opinions ap-

pears from his correspondence; in a letter to a friend he gives a more succinct account of them.

"——— does me too much honour in calling me an ultratory; the sentiments which I expressed to him are those which you have often heard from me:—a conviction that a certain quantity of tory feeling is always good for the country; and lamenting bitterly the present universal discontent, and the hatred, not of one party alone, but of all public men whatever, which prevails with the people."

This was written in the year 1816.

To the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 26, 1821.

"My Dear Lord,

"In consequence of the kind permission which you gave me some time back, I take the liberty of enclosing an extract from my life of Taylor, containing the account which I have given of the manner in which he became a fellow of All Souls. There is, indeed, a note besides, but that will only contain the documents which I received from your Lordship and Cartwright. I have endeavoured, in my account of the transaction, to say neither too much nor too little, and more particularly to avoid any thing which might hereafter compromise the college. You will however, confer a real kindness on me, by giving me your opinion, should any thing occur to you as better unsaid or necessary to be inserted; and I beg you to believe that I shall be most anxious to conform myself to your judgment. May I request the favour of an early answer, as my publishers are growing impatient, and I hope to get through, or nearly through, the press in the course of next month. I confess I begin to feel many of the pangs of approaching travail, and considerable anxiety as to the manner in which my book will be received by the world. My chief source of uneasiness is the paucity of interesting facts which I have been able to collect; if it had not been for Talbot and the ladies at Rosstrevor, they would have been

few indeed. I comfort myself, however, with the recollection that, as a biographer, it was not my business to invent what I could not find, and that, probably, my critical account of Taylor's writings will be the principal object of interest with the greater part of my readers.

"Believe me, my dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's obliged and faithful humble servant,

"REGINALD HEBER."

To the Rev. H. H. Milman.

Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 28, 1821.

"MY DEAR MILMAN,

"You have indeed sent me a most powerful reinforcement to my projected hymn book. A few more such hymns and I shall neither need nor wait for the aid of Scott and Southey. Most sincerely, I have not seen any lines of the kind which more completely correspond to my ideas of what such compositions ought to be, or to the plan, the outline of which it has been my wish to fill up. In order that you may understand the nature of that plan more clearly, I have sent you the first volume of my collection, in which, as you will observe, I have marked the author's name or initials to all, whether original or collected, of which the author is known. You will see that it has been my plan to collect and, in some instances, to adapt, the best published hymns, and whatever applicable passages of religious poetry admitted of it. That these are not more numerous in my collection, and that there is so much of my own, I trust you will impute not to any conceit in my own workmanship, but to the real scarcity of foreign materials, and the miserable feebleness and want of taste which the generality of such collections display, and which have often driven me to my own resources in pure despair of being supplied elsewhere. There are not, as you will see, many *lacunæ* in the portion of the year which this little book contains. In the other half year they are more numerous; and even those Sundays which I have supplied with appropriate hymns, may very well carry double or even treble, if you will supply them with any thing of your own, or selected from other quarters.

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"I need hardly say that you will oblige me very much by any alterations, omissions, or additions which you may be inclined to suggest to those hymns which I now send you, and that the blank page has been left for the purpose of such friendly strictures."

To the Right Honourable C. W. Williams Wynn.

Hodnet, January 22, 1822.

"My Dear Wynn,

"As I felt assured you would be almost overpowered by the congratulations of your numerous friends on your recent appointment,* I had, in the first instance, almost determined to defer mine till we met. Yesterday's newspaper, however, which announces your kissing hands, leads me to believe that you have got through the first stream of felicitations, and that you may be therefore less bored with those of one who has many reasons for rejoicing in every prosperous event which befals you or your family. I have, indeed, I will not say a stronger, but a better reason for my joy than that which arises from personal regard, and the recollection of many acts of friendship to me and mine, inasmuch as I cannot but feel pleasure in seeing your distinguished talents made more useful to the country, at a time when, heaven knows, there is abundant need of all that high talents, high honour, and amiable manners can do to save it, I only add, what must be a great and legitimate source of satisfaction and encouragement to you in undertaking the duties of an important and arduous situation, that I have not yet met with any person of any party who has not spoken of your appointment with approbation and with hope.

"I am sure you will have heard with pain of poor Hodson's† death. I little thought that the illness against which he struggled so gallantly in my brother's cause, would have left so deep and fatal an impression on his constitution, as it now appears to have done. Yet I have received no details of his last indisposition; and did not, indeed, know that he continued ill, till, on my

* As President of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India.—Ed.

† Dr. Hodson, principal of Brazenose College, Oxford.—Ed.

return on Saturday from Clumber, where we had been staying some days, I received the news of the fatal event from my brother. His letter was very short, and written in much agitation but he promised me a further account in a post or two. Mrs. Hodson is, indeed, an object of unmingled pity.

* * * * * *

" * * * Poor Hodson, whom all his friends thought hypochondriac, is a lamentable instance that, even when no specific malady can be detected, there may be too good occasion for complaint or depression of spirits, and that the patient may be the best judge of his own sensations.

" Do not, amid the hurry of business by which you are, probably, as yet surrounded, plague yourself to answer this letter ; though, when you have time, it will make me happy to hear that you and yours are well.

" Believe me, dear Wynn,

" Sincerely your obliged friend,

" REGINALD HEBER."

CHAPTER XX.

Mr. Reginald Heber appointed preacher at Lincoln's Inn—Mr. Otter—Publication of the Life of Jeremy Taylor—Chambers in Lincoln's Inn—Letter on the arrangement of the Communion table, desk, and pulpit—Roman Catholic hymns—Lord Byron's "Dramatic Poems"—Fonthill—Publications by various Reformers—"Ecclesiastical Revenues." 1822.

The preachership at Lincoln's Inn becoming vacant, early in the year 1822, on the appointment of Dr. Lloyd to a canonry of Christ Church, and to the Regius Professorship of Divinity in Oxford, Mr. Reginald Heber was again a candidate for this honourable situation; the exertions of his friends were successful in procuring his appointment at the election, which took place in the ensuing April, when the whole number of benchers, except three, attended; soon after which he went to London to discharge the duties of his new office. On his birth-day in the same month he writes "*Miserere mei, bone Deus! miserere peccatoris! da Spiritûs tui auxilium, da purum castumque pectus, et e laqueis diaboli eripe servum tuum per Jesum Christum Dominum Nostrum.*"

To John Thornton, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, Feb. 7, 1822.

"Indeed, my dear friend, I felt and still feel very deeply the kindness of your letter, and the gratifying proof you have given of your recollection of me in giving my name to your little boy. I am sensible that I have been, of late, a very negligent correspondent, but have been engrossed closely and constantly with the task of expediting my last corrections of Taylor's life, and overlooking the proof sheets, which are sent down by every post; and I have, I fear, both in your case and that of many others,

allowed my arrears of letters to run to a very unreasonable extent. Yet I can truly say I have not forgotten the many delightful days I have passed in your society, or the obligations which I am under to your kindness; and you and yours, of which my little namesake now forms a part, are always remembered in my morning and nightly prayers. God grant to you all heavenly blessings, and as much of this world's happiness as He sees good for you.

"I hope, in my anxiety to obtain the preachership of Lincoln's Inn, the idea that I may be useful in such a pulpit, and with the sort of audience which I may expect to see round me there, has borne no inconsiderable part. Yet I will own the wish to see more of the valuable friends from whom I am now in a great measure separated, has very much, perhaps principally, contributed to it. I feel by no means sanguine of success, indeed rather the contrary, as Maltby is, in all respects, a formidable opponent. If I fail, I trust however, the disappointment will not be great; and I am well convinced, that if I fail, it will be better for me that I should do so, though I may not at present be able to perceive the reason."

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, Feb. 7, 1822.

"My Dear Wilmot,

"I have many kindnesses at once to thank you for, and most of all for the the truly friendly pains you have taken in my cause as candidate for the preachership. I should certainly like most exceedingly to compass this last, though I do not think that the present state of the canvass gives me any good grounds for being sanguine. It happened, unfortunately, that I was extremely incredulous as to Lloyd's giving up the situation, which, in the case of Van Mildert, was held some time with the canonry and professorship; and this circumstance, coupled with my distance from town, gave Maltby a start, which I cannot but fear my friends, kind and zealous as they are, will hardly be able to retrieve. I do not know exactly whether Maltby's whiggery is for or against him. It may, and doubtless will, deprive him of several votes; but, on the other hand, the whigs are numerous

and mighty in the list of benchers now lying before me; and a man of their own party has claims on them, which I, who have no party character at all, can only oppose by private friendship and interest. But, however it may turn out, I can never regret that the question has been tried, since the active support I have received from the friends whom I love best, and whose good opinion I am most anxious to retain, will, through life, be a delightful subject of retrospect, and not only endear them to me still more, but raise me in my own estimation, as having been the object of their regard and good will. I trust the decision will be made during this term, as even defeat is more endurable than suspense."

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, March 18, 1822.

"I can easily believe that your time is closely and intently occupied, and only feel anxious lest your 'fencing by day and foining by night' with Ionian disputes in your office, and Mr. Hume in the House of Commons, may be too much for your health. As for your spirits I believe them to be indomitable, except by the langour of a blockade, and have, therefore, no fear that you will need the relaxations of 'looking out of the window, and reading newspapers.'

* * * * *

"We are going to have a county meeting here on the 25th, called under singular circumstances. The sheriff refused to attend to the requisition on the ground that it was not sufficiently signed, and five magistrates have called a meeting in their own names. I know not what good is expected at this moment to flow from it; the reductions in the civil list afford an admirable topic for loyal men to descant on, and I am aware of little but the salt tax which can now be made a topic of popular outcry. I wish that this had been, if possible, abated; and am inclined to believe from the testimony of my rustic neighbours, that if the duty were less, more would be used and less smuggled, so as to make the loss to the revenue trifling. The reduction of the malt tax, whatever has been said to the contrary, is very popular."

To the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

Hodnet Rectory, April 12, 1822.

"My Dear Lord,

"May I hope that you will forgive the liberty I am taking in recommending to your Lordship's notice and acquaintance my friend and neighbour, Mr. Otter, formerly fellow and tutor of Jesus College, Cambridge, and now rector of Chetwynd, in this county, who is going to reside for some time, with his wife and family, in Oxford, as private tutor to Lord Ongley. He came into this neighbourhood warmly recommended to me by poor Dr. Clarke, with whom and with Malthus he had travelled over many parts of Europe, and whose memoirs he is now employed in writing. And the intimate acquaintance of several years enables me to vouch for him as a very able, accomplished, and amiable man, who has been, and is likely to be, popular wherever he is known. Clarke spoke of him as having distinguished himself in several ways at Cambridge; but he has lived so much in the world as to have worn off all the rough edges of the wrangler, and I have no doubt of his success in Oxford society, as much as his avocations will enable him to partake in it.

"Your Lordship will, I trust, before this reaches you, have received the *first*, or *last*, volume of Jeremy Taylor, which, with considerable fear and trepidation on my part, and after many delays on the part of the booksellers, is, by this time, launched on the sea of public opinion.

"There is a time, I believe, when every author is heartily weary of his own works, and not sorry to get rid of them on almost any terms. This has been, for some time back, the case with me, so that I feel much relieved by my present emancipation, though uncertain what reception my poor infant may meet with in the world.

"It is, however, a source of much satisfaction to me to believe, that my efforts, such as they are, will find in your Lordship a friendly and favourable judge.

"Believe me, my dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's obliged and faithful humble servant,

"Reginald Heber."

To the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

Lincoln's Inn, June 12, 1822.

"My Dear Lord,

"I feel myself much obliged and flattered by your Lordship's kind expressions and good wishes, and trust it will always be my study to show myself not unworthy of the favourable opinion with which you have honoured me. I should, several days ago, have written to thank you for your letter, had I not, in the mean time, been immersed in the bustle usually incident to entering on a new residence, more particularly when that residence consists of little besides bare walls.

"The chambers appropriated to the preacher here do not, indeed, lay claim to the character of a house; they are, however, more convenient than I expected to find them, and, though small, will hold my wife as well as myself very comfortably during the summer terms. The two others I shall come up as a bachelor. The situation in all other respects, of society, &c. is a most agreeable one, and the more so as it does not take me away from Hodnet more than three months in the year.

"Your Lordship is very good to anticipate any amusement from my life of Taylor. I have only to request you to make allowance for the paucity of materials, and the difficulty of making an interesting narrative out of the obscure life of a poor and persecuted scholar. I have as yet heard very little as to the opinion which the world has passed on it, and that opinion has, thus far, been favourable; but it has reached me through friendly channels.

"Believe me, my dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's much obliged and faithful servant,

"Reginald Heber."

To C. R. Cockerell, Esq.

Lincoln's Inn, June 24, 1822.

"My Dear Sir,

"I can assure you that I have not lost sight of your question, whether any grounds of objection are to be found in the canons or precedents of the Church, to such an arrangement of

the communion table, desk, and pulpit, as you showed me in your beautiful design for Lord Lansdowne's Chapel; and I am happy to say that my subsequent inquiries have fully confirmed the opinion which I, in the first instance, expressed, that the custom of ascending to the chancel by a flight of steps, was, at once, most suitable to the public and decorous celebration of the service performed there, most consonant to the practice of Christian antiquity, and to the general arrangement of our Christian churches, before the Puritans, and their dislike to every thing which favoured the name or notion of an altar, sank the communion table to the level of the floor, and obscured it as much as possible with the pulpit and reading desk.

"In the earliest Christian churches, and so far down as the seventh or eight century, so far as I have been able to discover, the communion table and the steps which led to it were the places whence all the principal parts of divine service were delivered. There was, in fact, nothing in those churches which properly answered to our notion of a pulpit. We find, indeed, towards the west end of the nave, and near the partition which separated it from the '*narthex*,' or station of penitents, one, or sometimes, two '*tribunes*' or '*ambones*' where the singers stood, and whence the deacons and other inferior officers of the church chanted the litany, introits, &c But the presbyters and bishop were always seated in the chancel, and whatever *they* did was done from the altar or the steps, which were generally pretty numerous so as to enable all the congregation to see what was going on. The chancel was in fact called βημα from αναβαινειν. And it is more frequently noticed that the Gospel was read, and the sermon preached there.

"You will find this substantially the same account which Bingham has given. (Antiq. of the Christian church, B. viii. c. c. 5, 6.) He is wrong, however, in supposing the 'ambo' to have resembled a pulpit, inasmuch as it most certainly was a kind of gallery capable of holding many persons, as is plain from the 59th canon of the council of Laodicea, which speaks of the choristers going up there to sing. It answered, in fact to our organ loft, and to the galleries for singers in modern Greek churches.

"This arrangement is still accurately followed in Russia, where, except in very modern churches, pulpits are never seen; but the reader or preacher lays his book or MS. on a small moveable desk, like a music stand, on the steps leading to the 'Royal Gate' of the ἅγιον.

"The rules prescribed by the English church in this particular, are, merely, that a convenient pulpit, or preaching place, and desk should be provided, (without saying any thing as to their situation,) and that the communion table be railed in and placed against the eastern wall of the chancel. But the chancel itself is ordered to be left 'as in times past;' and it is very certain that all the old chancels, anterior to the reformation, were much elevated, and approached by many steps. Some instances of this kind still remain. That in the church of Tenby, is, as I am informed, raised nearly ten feet above the nave. The altar in the cathedral of Chester, is approached by six or seven rather steep steps, and the same may be observed of the fine church of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, and of that at Wrexham.

"And when we consider that the most solemn and impressive part of our liturgy is celebrated in this situation, it seems no more than natural and decent to give it as much elevation as we find necessary and convenient for other parts of the service. It is as fit that all the congregation should hear the commandments, as it is that they should hear the litany; as necessary that the gospel should reach their ears as the sermon; nor can I understand how the priest can be said to consecrate the elements 'in the sight of all the people,' when he is enclosed with pews higher than his head, and when a pulpit fifteen feet high is built up between himself and his congregation. Nor is there much decency or good sense in exalting the pulpit so greatly above the reading desk, as if preaching were a more important office than prayer, or the commentaries of men more valuable than the Scriptures themselves; and it is, therefore, noticed with approbation by honest Isaac Walton, in his life of Herbert, that this excellent man, in the new church which he built at his own expense, had the pulpit and desk of the same height, and opposite to each other.

"The truth is, that the time when the altars were depressed,

and the pulpits exalted was, as I have already noticed, when the Puritans were in power: several instances of their having done so are mentioned by Walker, in his 'Sufferings of the Clergy;' and it is probable that on the restoration the bishops acted with much wisdom in not returning immediately to the ancient custom, which so many were then disposed to consider as a remnant of popery. But I do not believe that any feeling of this kind now exists, either among members of the Church of England or dissenters; and I can hardly think that, in a new erection, any offence would be given by an arrangement at once so convenient and so elegant.

"On talking over your plan with a friend, whose experience and good sense, as well as his knowledge of the history of our Liturgy, made me anxious for his opinion, he said, 'the only difficulties which occurred to him were, that old and infirm communicants would find the ascent of so many steps inconvenient, and that the preacher would not be sufficiently elevated.' The first of these objections might, I should think, be remedied either by making the stairs sufficiently easy, or perhaps by placing them within the communion rails, so that the priest only, and not his communicants, would have to ascend and descend. But the fact is, that even in the largest church, no great elevation would be necessary or desirable. Our modern pulpits are very much too high; we all know that sound ascends; and we therefore may easily understand why, in most London churches, though the galleries hear well, the aisles can hardly hear at all; and why, in order to remedy an evil of his own creating, the builder has usually had recourse to a sounding board to beat the voice down again, an object which it answers very imperfectly. But from repeated trials I have found, as a general rule, that an elevation of six feet above the floor of the church, is amply sufficient, and that at which the human voice is best heard by all parts of a large auditory. It is, in fact, nearly the height of the stage in most theatres, buildings of all others best calculated for the transmission of sound, and in the construction of which both sight and hearing are most studiously considered. On the whole my impression is, that your plan needs only to be once tried to be very generally imitated; and that you have not

only contrived an extremely convenient and picturesque arrangement of this necessary furniture of our churches, but that you have got rid of what I always considered the great deformity and inconsistency of a step-like edifice for preacher, reader, and clerk, with its back directly turned on those mysteries which are, or ought to be in every church, the chief object of a Christian's reverence.

"The best, however, and the only legitimate judge of such arrangements is the ordinary, to whom, by the rules of our church, it belongs to determine where the communion table, &c. are to be fixed in every place of worship; and if any doubt exists in your mind, or the minds of the trustees for the new church, I know no person on whose taste and judgment I could so implicitly rely as the Bishop of London.

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Ever most truly your's,

"REGINALD HEBER."

To Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart.

Hodnet, August 13, 1822.

"MY DEAR INGLIS,

"Many thanks for your friendly letter, and the solemn and striking paraphrase* of the '*Dies Iræ*.' I have more than once thought over the propriety of adding translations of the Roman Catholic hymns, at the end of my collection, but have been deterred partly by the difficulty which I found in doing them into English to my own satisfaction, partly by a doubt as to the propriety of inserting any thing which was not intended and adapted for congregational worship. I have also another doubt: there is fine poetry and fine devotional feeling in all of them, but I am not sure whether they are not better to *pillage* and *imitate* than to *translate*, inasmuch as they are all, more or less, mixed with what is languid and tedious. The '*O Crux ave spes unica*,' is one of the most spirited, but unhappily it is idolatrous; and so is the '*Stabat mater dolorosa*.' The '*Dies Iræ*,' as imitated by

* Anonymous.

W. Scott, I have in my collection. It is less full and faithful, and less poetical than the one you have sent me ; but it might be sung by an English congregation, which the last hardly could. But the main beauty of the Romish hymns has always appeared to me to be their solemn rythm, and simple and affecting melodies ; and these neither Scott, nor your friend Mathias, nor any other imitator, that I know, has succeeded in retaining. I have often tried, but have always been obliged to throw overboard either words or rythm. I heartily wish you would try what is to be done.

"Your former criticisms on my lectures were as intrinsically valuable, as they were kindly communicated ; and you will really oblige me most essentially by allowing me when we meet, as I hope we shall in November, to look at your copy of Jeremy Taylor's life. I have no idea as to the probability of the booksellers publishing it separately. They once talked of doing so, but I have since heard nothing more from them.

"I have, thank God, a very favourable account to give both of my wife and child. The latter has suffered a good deal from her teeth ; but in other respects is healthy, active, and lively, with quite as much intelligence as we can yet expect her to show. You do not name Lady Inglis,—I trust this silence means that she is well. My wife begs to unite in best regards to her and your sisters with,

"Dear Inglis,
"Sincerely your obliged friend,
"Reginald Heber."

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, August 26th, 1822.

"I wish I had so much as suspected that you were to obtain a sufficient furlough from Downing street, to enable you to make your appearance at Newcastle, as I am not aware of any thing which could have prevented my meeting you there. The chances of my obtaining that pleasure are now so few, that I naturally feel anxious to let none escape me. I look, however, with better hope to the approaching November, during the greater part

of which I shall be on duty at Lincoln's Inn, and when you will, surely, be more approachable than while, besides the care of islands and continents, you had to prepare yourself for the evening brush in the House of Commons. It gives me great pleasure to learn that you anticipate less fatigue during a future year, and when you have mastered the routine of your situation: and the more so since the dismal effect of poor Lord Londonderry's labours has made, I fancy, many an ambitious and active head feel anxious about the carotid artery. The feelings which his sad end has called forth in this part of the country have, I think without exception, been creditable; those expressed by the London mob are also not unworthy of that worshipful body, and such as, though I did not expect, I am not surprised at. The complaints which you mention having heard in Staffordshire are, I fear, pretty nearly universal, though if the landlords will but lower their rents *in time* as effectually as the clergy have been obliged to lower their tythes (mine this year being pretty exactly what my father received in 1792) I verily believe the yeomanry would recover their spirits, their loyalty, and their prosperity. However, while the people of Edinburgh have shows, and the people of London bread at a cheap rate, and the two main causes of discontent (according to the ancients) are thus kept away from the two capitals, I trust the country may rub on a little longer.

* * * * *

"My appointment at Lincoln's Inn compels me to be resident as much as possible, during the remainder of the year at Hodnet; and the little furlough I can this autumn allow myself, must be given to Bodryddan, where the Dean's health is such as to make all the attentions of all his family no more than necessary.

"Thank you for your two enclosures which I return; the favourable mention which the fragment makes of my preaching is agreeable for many reasons, but most of all, as it is plain the writer expected to give *you* pleasure by speaking well of me.

"I have been very busy since I came home in reviewing Lord Byron's dramatic poems.* Of course, I have had occasion

* Article in the Quarterly Review for 1822.—Ed.

to find a reasonable quantity of fault, but I do not think that I have done him injustice. '*Pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt!*' I should have liked to take up the same ground, in a great degree, with the Edinburgh Review, but, as it will never do to build on another man's foundation, I have been obliged to break ground on a different side of the fortress, though not, I think, so favourable a one, and with the disadvantage of contending against a rival who has, I think, conducted his attack with admirable taste and skill.

"I am now at work on my sermons for next term. I foresee already that, if I mean to do any good, or to keep whatever credit I have got at Lincoln's Inn, I must take a great deal of pains, and bear in mind that I have a very fastidious audience; and it happens that I am also engaged in a course of lectures at Hodnet, which obliges me to write a fresh sermon every week for my rustic hearers."

To the Reverend Martin Stow.

Linacre, near Liverpool, October 21, 1822.

"My Dear Stow,

"After a long vacation, which has very little deserved the name, since, during the greatest part of it, I have been more than usually busy, I am on this coast, making myself up for the approaching winter campaign at Lincoln's Inn. * * This is a quiet little place, which, though little more than four miles from Liverpool, and enjoying the view of all the homeward and outward bound ships, is almost as retired as if it were in the Hebrides. * * * All the world in England have been running crazy to get a sight of Fonthill and its rarities. By all I can learn, it is indeed a fine thing, as far as splendour can make a thing fine, but in a taste which I could never admire; the house a make-believe Cathedral, looking like a Church turned into a drawing-room by a crazy bishop.

"* * * A translation of Mosheim's notes may be a creditable, but certainly not a profitable work for you; and even in point of credit I think you may employ your talents better. Merely to *translate* the notes is within the power of any man; but to comment upon them would require more reading

and greater labour than I think you would be repaid for. Besides, Mosheim is not always correct, and requires confutation, which would lead you greater lengths than you are aware of. If, however, you determine upon undertaking it, I should recommend your consulting the booksellers who have published the text, to ascertain whether you are likely to clash with any other person in the translation.

"I have written to Ogle and Duncan to desire they will reserve a copy of Jeremy Taylor's works and life, of which I beg you will do me the favour to accept, as a keepsake from one who often misses you, and who would regret your absence more if he did not hope it will eventually add to your prosperity and happiness. They are to be sent to your father's, either to follow you to Genoa, or to remain till your return.

"Believe me ever your affectionate friend,

"REGINALD HEBER."

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Lincoln's Inn, November, 1822.

"* * * Among the possible conductors of the Quarterly Review, a name has just occurred to me which I cannot help thinking very likely to answer. It is that of Lockhart, the son-in-law of Walter Scott, and the author of 'Peter's Letters,' which are written with abundant talent and caustic humour. He is, I understand, an advocate in Edinburgh, of great acknowledged talent, but little practice; and as his principles are decidedly Tory he may be very useful at the present moment."

To Mrs. R. Heber.

Lincoln's Inn, November 21, 1822.

"* * * I make good progress in collecting and arranging materials for my review. Mr. Vansittart has furnished me with an extract of a return from the tax office, stating the gross amount of all tythes during the operation of the income tax, and Charles Wynn a similar statement of livings under 150*l.* per annum. I have also received an account of the number of clergy who really attended Bath, either as permanent or occa-

sional residents, last year; and, on the whole, I hope to give a more faithful picture of the revenues of the Church, and to justify her members more satisfactorily from the popular charges brought against them, than has yet been done.

"I have looked over Jeremy Bentham's 'Church of Englandism,' and some other works of the same sort, to see all that is said against us, and was sometimes tempted to laugh, but more often seriously vexed and concerned. I had no idea before, nor can you have any, of the bitterness, the actual fury with which both the reformers and the ultra-whigs speak of the clergy, and (some of them) even of Christianity itself. I hardly know which is most outrageous, the Edinburgh whig newspaper called 'the Scotsman,' the Morning Chronicle, Jeremy Bentham, or the author (said to be Wooller) of 'the Black Book,' from which I have been just making some extracts.

"Mrs. Shipley has brought me a present from Miss Grimston of a very pretty work—a history of Gorhambury, of her own writing, and with drawings also by herself, all lithographed. It is very cleverly done.

"The Bishop of London has suggested a good many alterations in my hymns, but speaks very handsomely of them, and encourages me to publish them."

Mr. Reginald Heber's appointment to the bishopric of Calcutta occurring a short time after this letter was written, the review mentioned in it was never finished. As the editor has been enabled, through the kindness of Mr. Lockhart, to recover the existing sheets from Mr. Gifford's papers, she now gives them to the public.

"ART.—1. *Black Book; or Corruption Unmasked.*
2. *Remarks on the Consumption of National Wealth by the Clergy of every Christian Nation.*
3. *The Rights of the Clergy asserted.*

"Of the works the titles of which we have here enumerated, the first is one of the most characteristic specimens of the Jacobin press, which have for several years fallen under our notice.

Bound in black, and with enough of black letter in its title-page to captivate the affections of half the Roxburghe Club, it has held, for some time, a prominent situation in the windows of a certain description of booksellers; and has been puffed by the radical press, with a perseverance worthy of a better cause. It is, in fact, a sort of court-calendar, or list of places and pensions, full of inaccuracies and misrepresentations; and accompanied by a commentary, which holds up to almost equal reprobation the king, the parliament, the judges, the lawyers and the law; the landed aristocracy, whether Whig or Tory; and, among public men, almost all whose names have been, at any time, remarkable either among the Lords or Commons. Not only Lords Castlereagh, Eldon, and Grenville; but Lord Erskine, Lord Holland, and the Duke of Sussex, are held up to popular indignation in the proscribed list of placemen and pensioners: not only Messrs. Perceval and Canning, but Sir James Mackintosh, Messrs. Fox, Bennet, and Brougham are spoken of in terms of aggravated scorn and abhorrence. The property of the fund and land-holder is alike denounced as an encroachment on the national rights; and no engine of mendacity, malice, revenge, or cupidity, is neglected, which may stimulate the mob to that employment of 'physical force,' which we have been so frequently exhorted to understand in a blameless sense.

"They are the clergy, however, who are the peculiar objects of animosity. If the writer is to be believed, they are 'by far the most iniquitous of the different classes opposed to the welfare of the community.' 'While they render the least service to society, they devour the largest proportion of the produce of industry. They are ungrateful to those who clothe and feed them, and prostitute the religion which they profess, but the principles of which they never practice, to support a political system by which they are protected in vice and indolence.' 'A Church of England priest is a furious political demon, rapacious, insolent, and luxurious, having no fear of God before his eyes;' 'exerting all his influence to promote tyranny, and enslave and destroy his fellow-creatures.' 'The same blood-thirsty spirit appears to pervade the whole body.' 'They are *all* for the bayonet, the sabre, the dungeon, and the field-piece.'—p. 330.

"Nor is this wonderful, since we are told just before, that from such a system as that of the Church of England, 'we can neither have liberty, piety, morality, nor knowledge.' 'Hypocrisy, lying, popery, and fraud, are the natural effects of the formularies she employs in her ceremonies and her public schools: and *it is* these principles that form the basis of the education of our judges, statesmen, and legislators. It is impossible to feel much surprize at the conjunct villainy of church and state, when we find that those who fill every department in both, imbibe such doctrines as the foundation of their knowledge.'

"Abuse of this kind, so vehement, so unmeasured, and so entirely unsupported by evidence, may seem little calculated to do much lasting harm to its objects. But, 'though some make light of libels,' we have been taught by old Selden to 'learn by them which way the wind sits.' The volume from which we have cited these atrocities, though not always grammatical, is, on the whole, not ill written; and it is got up with an expense, which is a proof either of powerful patronage, or of a confidence in popular favour. And the sentiments which it expresses, in the simplicity of undisguised rancour, only differ in intelligibility from the crazy work of Mr. Bentham on the same subject,—and in superior openness from the similar attacks which, week after week and day after day, are repeated in the Statesman and the Morning Chronicle.

"Assertions even the most unfounded, steadily and unblushingly persevered in, fall at length with the force of truth on that large proportion of mankind, who are content to take their opinions on trust, and to receive as an undoubted fact, whatever is allowed to pass uncontradicted. And such charges are always most formidable, when directed against a body of men, in themselves politically feeble; whose utility and whose influence are dependent on popular opinion, and against whom many circumstances naturally operate, to excite an unjust and exaggerated estimate of their infirmities and their possessions.

"Of the causes of misrepresentation to which we have alluded, one of the most obvious is, perhaps, that which arises from the divided state of the national mind on religious subjects. It

seldom, if ever, happens, that a dispute, even when purely doctrinal, can be carried on with perfect charity on either side. From impugning the tenets, men generally proceed to revile the persons and inveigh against the lives of those with whom they differ; even the virtues of an adversary are often misconstrued, and his faults are detected with eagerness and enlarged on with pleasure, of which even the accuser himself may be unconscious. In the history of the Reformation, we find the characters both of Roman Catholics and Protestants represented in the blackest or the brightest colours, according to the side taken by the different historians of the period. In the pages of Walker and Calamy, the saints and the persecutors alike change names and sides; nor is it extraordinary that, in the present day, the same feelings should prevail, and that, while the clergy themselves are too apt to confound all the dissenting teachers under the same category of hypocrites and enthusiasts, the Presbyterians and Methodists should retort the charge with still greater vehemence, on the clergy, of careless and carnal lives, neglect of duty, luxurious and worldly habits, and a misapplication to unworthy purposes of the vast sums bestowed on them by the nation.

"Accusations of idleness and luxury, indeed, are, of all others, those which may be most easily made, and with the least danger of being refuted, both because they are themselves, from their nature, indefinite, and because they are readily received by the natural envy of mankind against all whose worldly condition we are inclined to think preferable to our own, and with whose peculiar employments, and peculiar trials and sacrifices, we have few opportunities of becoming acquainted. No man, in whatever public station he may be placed, either does or can do *all* his duty. Even in the most active and popular public labourers, some deficiencies of power or diligence will be found; and if these are all to be treasured up, and instanced by an alert and unfriendly observer; if those facts, which may be exceptions from the general character, are taken as samples of it; and every little defect of energy, every little admission of self-indulgence, be suffered to detract from ministerial worth and usefulness, few men, of any sect or party, could hope to pass uncensured. Nor is this all. Of a man in easy circumstances,

even the moderate comforts seem luxurious to the poor; of a student, the severest labour is unseen and unintelligible by the the husbandman or the artizan. Even the higher classes (to say nothing of those among them who have learned without understanding them, the phrases of productive and unproductive labourers, and the cant of that scheme which, with the greater number of its professors, is a cant only) are apt to judge of the parson by what they see of him on gala days, on occasions of hospitality, and during the hours of relaxation; and are little aware that the man who gives once a quarter a handsome dinner, and who, for a fortnight in the year, is seen in Bath or London, may have his daily fare no better than that of a moderate farmer, and may be steadily and laboriously occupied during eleven months out of the twelve in his church, his charity school, and in the cottages of his poor parishioners.

"Much of this odium is usually escaped by the Methodist or dissenting teacher. As his income is generally, in fact, smaller than that of the established clergyman, and as that income is raised by voluntary contributions, he is naturally less envied; and, from the comparative privacy of his station, his faults, if he has any, are less conspicuous. Even if detected in gross immorality, he is dismissed by his ecclesiastical superiors, without noise or scandal; or, having no permanent interest in the place where he officiates, he leaves it of his own accord, for some other situation where he is less known; while the correction of a profligate clergyman is a matter of legal difficulty and endless delay, of publicity and party, of quibble and cross examination, and either nothing can be done to abate the nuisance, or, if any effectual measure is taken, he is very possibly held up as an unfortunate and persecuted person; and, in either case, the church is made to bear the full blame of the faults or misfortunes of a few of its members.

"There are many practices too, which, though not really immoral, are, at the present day unpopular in clergymen, and to which, in fact, few clergymen, in comparison, are addicted; which, whenever they occur, are of so conspicuous a nature, as materially to affect the estimation in which the whole body are held. A single political parson is known through a whole coun-

ty; a single fox hunter in black is cried out aginst all the way from Quorn to Pytchley. But who knows, who hears or inquires, how many parishes there are, in an extensive district, whose obscure and humble pastors attend no public meetings but a visitation, and know no amusement beyond a little angling, or an occasional dining visit to a neighbour? Yet it is these, and not the others, from whom the character of the church of England can be estimated fairly.

"Nor must another fact be omitted, which is, that there really was a time when much of this censure, to which the Church is liable, was far better deserved than at the present day. With every allowance for the desperate party-virulence of Burnet, who, good man as he was in other respects, hated the majority of his brethren heartily, because they were opposed to him in politics, and believed them to be drunkards, because he knew them to be Jacobites, there is some reason to believe, that the English clergy were really no gainers, in character or usefulness, by the part they took in the squabbles of Whig and Tory, and by their alliance with a faction of country squires, who seem to have measured a man's loyalty to King James, by the bumpers of October which he swallowed, and to have required and admitted no other test of his orthodoxy, than a total difference in manner and conversation from the precise gravity of his Puritan rivals. Nor were the Whig hierarchy themselves (for out of this party the hierarchy was chiefly selected) without their besetting snares, and their faults of a different character. As the party to which they adhered, and on which they depended, were even more suspicious of the ecclesiastical than of the kingly power, they were most of them chosen for the moderation of their talents, as well as their principles, and a want of energy was a recommendation, far more than an objection, with those who held the key of honours and preferment. Between them and their clergy was little community of feeling or of interest; and from those who had not sufficient virtue to reside on their dioceses of their own accord, the letter of the law, and the low state of public feeling on such subjects, required no more than that they should go thither for their triennial visitation. The rest of their time was, in a great measure, spent in the levee of Walpole, or

the closet of good Queen Caroline; while the richer clergy were gradually encouraged to imitate their example, and Bath and Buxton were filled with idle ecclesiastics, till the slumberers were alarmed by the war-cry of Wesley and Whitfield.

"Of the reaction produced by their preaching and popularity, and of the improvement which both the efficiency and the character of the clergy, as a body, have since exhibited, we have elsewhere spoken, and we may, hereafter, speak more fully. But what we would here observe is, that however real and extensive the amendment, the evil effects of the scandal have, as yet, by no means died away; that there are too many persons interested in the outcry, to suffer it readily to subside; that many, whose fathers left the Church when the conduct of its members really deserved reprehension, still suppose its failings to be as unchanged as its ceremonies; and that some, who are not unwilling to allow those particular clergymen with whom they are in habits of intercourse, to be blameless or exemplary men, and diligently employed in the discharge of their duty, indemnify themselves for this praise of those whom they know, by an indiscriminate censure of those of whom they know nothing; and persist in regarding the favourable sample as no more than an exception from the general and traditionary character of the body to which it belongs. And when we take into this part of the account the particular animosity of the jacobins against the Church, (and though, as yet, not a numerous body, no other class of men are so active,) and when we pay due attention to the effect of the popular phrensy excited by the queen's trial, (the chief odium of which, by a singular and most unfortunate policy, was contrived to be thrown on the clergy,) it is, perhaps, less to be wondered at, that the Church of England should have a certain share of unpopularity, than that she should have retained or recovered any degree of popularity or influence.

"To all these occasions of slander must be added, the effects of the tithing system; an addition well calculated, of itself, to prevent even the greatest store of talents, virtues and acquirements, from obtaining that influence which naturally belongs to them, over the minds and affections of the people. As a burthen on the state, indeed, and as a hindrance to agriculture, we are

persuaded that its evil effects are greatly and wilfully overstated. Nor, at a certain stage of national improvement, and under certain forms of society, is there any way in which a tax is more lightly felt, or more willingly borne by the people. During the peasants' war of Germany, one of the demands of the commons was, that their rents, like their tithes, might be paid in kind; and Luther, who was well-acquainted with, and, on this occasion, spoke the popular feeling, contrasts, in his Commentary on the first Book of Moses, the leniency and equity of the Divine Law, which took a tenth of that which the ground actually brought, with the severity of the Teutonic lords, who demanded a fixed rent under all circumstances of disappointment and unkindly seasons. But when money is abundant, and markets always at hand,—when agriculture has become a mercantile speculation, and instead of one uniform succession of crop and fallow, new modes of culture are resorted to, of the most expensive character, and of great, but uncertain profits,—the system is certainly calculated to weaken the mutual affection of the pastor and his parishioners, being at once uncertain and litigious; the impost is also levied on lands which the tenants hold from another proprietor, and is paid, therefore, without any of that feeling of mutual interest and hereditary attachment which, where a lay-landlord is concerned, alleviates, in a small degree, to the farmer, the bitterness of his expected rent-day.

"But the ill effects of the tithing system, so far as the Church is concerned, have been we apprehend, more felt during the last fifty years, than during any former period of our history. The system of agriculture has become more costly. A race of educated and gentlemen agriculturists has sprung up, who, as they frequently began their enterprise without counting the costs, were furious at every deduction which was made from those profits to which they fancied themselves entitled; and, above all, the collection of the tithes has fallen generally into the hands of the parochial clergy themselves, instead of only reaching them through lay-tenants and lay-patrons, who, while they shared in the fruits of the system, bore also their proportion of its unpopularity. We are ourselves old enough to have some recollection of the time when, in the midland and north-western counties of

England, and, we believe, over the greater part of the kingdom, the parochial tithes were uniformly rented by the lord of the manor, or some other principal freeholder, who paid a fixed and, generally, a very moderate sum to the clergyman, and collected, in kind, the produce of the farms. At present the tithes are let by the parson himself, either annually, or for a term of years, to the tenants; and those tithes are gathered which they will not take at the valuation. This arrangement, it is evident, is more advantageous to the tenant, at once, and the tithe owner, inasmuch as the profit made by the middle-man is now shared between them; but it is equally evident that, by excluding this last from his part of the spoil, a new and formidable recruit is given to the party interested in decrying tithes; while, at the same time, the odium and misery of arranging or enforcing his bargains with each individual parishioner, devolves on him who ought, on every principle of reason and mutual comfort, to have as few dealings of the kind, and with as few of his parishioners as possible. In the earlier days of the reformed Church, indeed, and almost down to the period of which we are speaking, no complaints appear to have arisen of the too great opulence of the parochial clergy, who are represented by our play-writers and novelists as a frugal and farmer-like race of men, of manners unpolished and pedantic, whose admission into good society was of an extremely dubious character, and who thought themselves not ill off, if they compassed a marriage with my lady's maid, or, at best, a poor relation of the family. The vicarages, in particular, are described by Echard as sordidly poor, and the whole notion of clerical wealth was confined to the bishops and dignitaries, of whose incomes, then, as now, the popular estimate was sufficiently exaggerated. These things are altered, and altered for the better. But, while the condition of the clergy has been really, in many respects, improved, we cannot be surprised that their advantages have been overrated; or, that the aggregate amount of their revenues is supposed to be very great, when there are so many persons who feel the payment of part of those revenues sufficiently burthensome.

"It is this largeness of endowment, indeed, which is the peculiar grievance of the case, not only with writers like him

whom we have quoted, but with others of a graver and more respectable authority. Even those who speak with moderation and decency of the *lives* of the English clergy, are ready to speak of their revenues as, under all circumstances, excessive and pernicious; as tending to corrupt the Church, while they impoverish the nation; as exceeding, many times over, the most liberal pay which the ecclesiastics of other Christian countries receive; as wasted in luxuries unfit for the professors of religion, or, at best, employed in maintaining an idle and unnecessarily numerous army of ecclesiastics with means which had better be employed in the national defence, or the alleviation of public burthens. It is not the author of the Black Book alone who reckons the tithes of England and Wales at 5,000,000*l.* annually, and the revenues of the bishops and dignified clergy at 625,000*l.* more; all drawn, as he gravely tells us, from the *taxes* and labour of the people. The Edinburgh Reviewers, not content with swallowing in the bulk the exaggerations of Mr. Wakefield concerning Ireland, have since directed an attack of equal bitterness against that sister Church, of whom they, in the first instance, spoke with comparative indulgence. They now tell us of '*the prudent regard for the things of this world exhibited by the English clergy*,' and call on our nation to 'contemplate, if they can, without murmuring or repining, the cheap and pure ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland.' They inveigh against 'prelates with twenty or twenty-five thousand a year,' in the temper of the ancient Roundheads, and indulge in a language which, if it is not *intended* to induce a formal spoliation of the property of the Church, is as well calculated to produce such a consequence as any words which the strongest advocate of that measure would, in the present stage of the business, think it expedient to resort to. The most formal proposition, however to this effect, and one of the strongest instances of the extent in which an exaggerated opinion of clerical wealth has gained ground in the country, is contained in the publication which stands second at the head of the present article. Its author is neither a furious jacobin, a crazy bigot, nor a contemner of religion. Though evidently prejudiced against the English Church, he is not uncourteous in his language, and is a professed re-

specter of vested interests. He proposes to purchase the rights of lay patrons, and reserve those of lay impropriators, to provide a sufficient, and even a liberal compensation for the present incumbents of parishes; and to leave to the Church of England, hereafter, a revenue which, in proportion to its numbers, shall make it the wealthiest establishment in Christendom. And yet, when all these ends are answered, he expects enough to remain from the sale of ecclesiastical property to afford abundant incomes to all the Roman Catholic and dissenting Clergy; to raise the annual stipends of the Scottish parochial ministry to what he conceives their due level; and to redeem *one hundred millions* of public debt, and relieve the nation from *four millions* of annual taxes!

"The process by which he arrives at these golden results we are anxious to give, as far as possible, in his own statements, which have, indeed, been pretty generally circulated in the jacobin and opposition newspapers. Nothing can more remarkably prove the rashness with which such statements are sometimes made; or the avidity with which, when they favour a popular outcry, the most unwarranted assertions are received as certain.

"He begins by assuming that a 'crisis in the financial concerns of the British empire must, before long, take place; when something like Mr. Heathfield's plan must be attempted; and the holders of all the real property of the country (land, houses, &c.) and of the funds, must contribute a portion of their property to extinguish a part of the national debt; and that, in so pressing an emergency, it seems extremely probable that the church property will be *first* applied to the same purpose.' He justifies this preference by the examples of different continental states, and still more from the necessity (in the race which we are running with those states and the great and rising republic of North America) of discharging ourselves 'of the enormous weight of church establishment, which they are freed from.' He expresses some doubt whether it may not be best to leave the clergy, as in the United States, entirely to voluntary contributions; but is disposed, on the whole, to apprehend that 'a liberal but still reasonable provision is most advisable.' That

the present provision of the English clergy is *unreasonable*, he proceeds to show as follows.

"In the first place, their numbers are too great. Assuming, as undoubted fact, that of the 12,000,000 inhabitants of England and Wales, only one half, or 6,000,000, are hearers of the established Church, and assuming also that one clergyman is sufficient to take care of 1800 hearers, he concludes that about 3500 parish priests would answer all the wants of that portion of the community who depend on their instructions. But following the calculations, or, to speak more properly, the *conjectures*, of Mr. Colquhoun and Mr. David Simpson, he states the Episcopal clergy of England and Wales at no less than 18,000! an army of preachers which, as he with some reason concludes, is extremely disproportioned to the service which they have to perform, and to the general population of the country.

"In the next place, the clergy are too rich. This he attempts to establish by the following table, the comparative moderation of which he proves by subjoining a still more portentous calculation from the writer of the Morning Chronicle.

"'*Estimates of the Revenues and Property of the Established Church in England, and Wales, and Ireland.*

ENGLAND AND WALES.

Estimate used in these Tables.

Annual value of the gross produce of the land of England and Wales,	*L.*150,000,000
One-third of the land of England and Wales not subject to tithe for the clergy, being either tithe free, or lay impropriations - - - - -	50,000,000
Leaving the amount on which tithes for the clergy is levied - - -	*L.*100,000,000
Supposing the clergy to levy 1-16th, they get - - - - - - - - -	6,250,000
Tithes -	*L.*6,250,000
Estates of bishops and ecclesiastical corporations - - - - - - - -	1,000,000
Assessments in towns, on houses, &c. - - - - - - - - - - - -	250,000
Chapels of Ease stipends - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	100,000
The estimate of Church property used in these tables - - - - - -	*L.*7,600,000

Remarks, p. 58.'

"The Church property of Ireland he reckons at 1,300,000*l.*

"To make a part of this immense wealth applicable to the purposes of the state, and to the maintenance of the clergy of other sects, as well as those of the Protestant Episcopal persuasion, the projector recommends that

"'The commissioners appointed for this purpose be empowered to sell all Church property, both tithes and estates. A preference in the sale of tithes to be given to the owners of the lands. The money gradually arising from the sales to be vested in the public funds; the interest to be paid to the holders of the livings for their lives; which payment will be about equal to their present income, and paid without irregularity or dispute. At the death of the present holders, the successor to be paid according to the scale of national stipends, unless in cases of reversions having been sold. No sales of reversions to be valid, if made after the new arrangement.

"'The tithes may be computed to bring twenty-five years' purchase, and the estates thirty years' purchase. To compensate the owners of presentations, nine years' income or 9-25ths of the capital arising from the sale to be paid to them; the remainder, or 16 25ths, to be applied to the use of the nation. The whole proceeds of the livings in the presentation of the crown, the bishops, and the ecclesiastical corporations, to be applied to the use of the nation.

"'*Estimated amount of the Church Property which can be resorted to for the use of the State.*

Tithes belonging to livings in the gift of the crown, the bishops, and the ecclesiastical corporations, 3,250,000*l.* per annum, at twenty-five years' purchase		*L.*81,250,000
Tithes belonging to livings in the gift of individuals, *L.*3,000,000 per annum, at twenty-five years' purchase	*L.*75,000,000	
Less 9-25ths to be paid to the individuals	27,000,000	
		*L.*48,000,000
Tithes		*L.*129,000,000
Estates 1,000,000*l.* per annum, at thirty years' purchase		30,000,000
Value of Church property in England		*L.*159,250,000
Ditto in Ireland 1,300,000*l.*, at fourteen years' purchase		18,000,000
Total value of Church property		*L.*177,250,000

"'As soon as the commissioners have accumulated in the funds seventy-five millions of money unencumbered, and applicable to the use of the state, then so much national debt to be extinguished, and annual taxes, particularly affecting land and houses, to the amount of three millions, to be taken off, and the plan of national stipends, and the new provisions for all denominations to take place; the remaining

one hundred millions, as it accumulates, to be applied in the same manner. By this means, the national debt and taxes will be reduced materially, and yet no man will have injustice done to him; for those who are in possession of benefices, will continue to enjoy them for life; and to those who have the right of presentation to a living, the nation pays the money value of such right.'" pp. 70, 71.

"In the mean time, and while this work is in progress, a fresh tax of two millions is to be imposed on the rents of lands and houses, valued at 40,000,000*l.* in England and Wales; of one million two hundred thousand, at one shilling and ninepence in the pound, on similar rents in Ireland; and of eighty-five thousand in Scotland, at three-pence in the pound, in addition to the present ecclesiastical payments made in the last country, and in order to raise them to that level which the author thinks desirable for the maintenance of a learned priesthood, and the further provision for the different bodies of dissenting clergy in that nation. These sums to be distributed as follows:—

"'*Projected expenditure on the Clergy of all denominations in England and Wales.*

Episcopal Body and other Dignitaries of the Church of England.

EPISCOPAL BODY.

2	Archbishops	at *L.*8000 each	*L.*16,000
24	Bishops	at 3000 each	72,000
60	Archdeacons	at 1000 each	60,000
27	Deans	at 1000 each	27,000
113	persons, the episcopal body, to receive		*L.*175,000

OTHER DIGNITARIES.

200	Canons, Prebends, &c., at 200*l.* each Whatever number of canons and prebends enjoy the honour of the title, only 200 to receive the national stipend.	*L.*40,000
313	persons, episcopal body and other dignitaries of six millions of hearers, to receive	*L.*215,000

"'*Estimate of the projected expenditure on the working Clergy, both of the established Church and of all other denominations.*

Number of Clergymen.	Number of Persons accommodated in each Place of Worship.	Number of Persons to each Congregation.	Total number of People in their Congregations.	Amount of Annual Stipend.	Total amount of Stipend.
500	2000	3300	1,650,000	*L.*350	*L.*175,000
1000	1500	2500	2,500,000	320	320,000
2500	1000	1700	4,250,000	290	725,000
2500	666	1100	2,750,000	250	625,000

6500 clergymen, pastors of 11,150,000 people to receive - *L.*1,845,000
Episcopal body and other dignitaries of the Established Church - 215,000

Total amount for all the clergy of all the people of England and Wales *L.*2,060,000
Twelve millions of people, at 170,000*l.* per million - - - - 2,040,000

"'The congregations would, of course, always consist of many more persons than the lowest number requisite for each stipend, and thus it may be computed they would contain the whole twelve millions of the people.

"'The Kirk, or Church of Scotland, being the best clerical system in existence, not to be interfered with, unless, perhaps, an addition to be made to bring all stipends up to 200*l.*

"'The clergy of the half million of people in Scotland, who are not of the Kirk, to have a provision on a similar plan to that of the working clergy in England. This provision might cost about 85,000*l.*, computing it at the same rate as in England, 170,000*l.* per million of hearers.'—*Remarks*, p. 64.

"'IN IRELAND.

"'*Episcopal Body and other Dignitaries of the Church of England and Ireland.*

EPISCOPAL BODY.

4 Archbishops - - -	at *L.*8000 each - - -	*L.*32,000
28 Bishops - - - -	at 3000 each - - -	84,000
34 Archdeacons - - -	at 2000 each - - -	34,000
33 Deans - - - -	at 2000 each - - -	33,000
89 persons, the episcopal body, to receive - - - - - -	*L.*253,000

OTHER DIGNITARIES.

100 Canons, Prebends, &c., at 200*l.* each - - - - -	*L.*20,000

Whatever number of the canons and prebends enjoy the honour of the title, only one hundred to receive stipends.

189 persons, the episcopal body and other dignitaries of 100,000 hearers, to receive - - - - - - - - - -	*L.*173,000

"'*Estimate of the projected expenditure on the working Clergy, both of the established Church and of all other denominations in Ireland.*

Number of Clergymen.	Number of Persons accommodated in each Place of Worship.	Number of Persons to each Congregation.	Total number of People in their Congregations.	Amount of Annual Stipend.	Total amount of Stipend.
500	2000	3300	1,650,000	*L.*350	*L.*175,000
1000	1500	2500	2,500,000	320	320,000
1000	1000	1700	1,700,000	290	290,000
1000	666	1100	1,100,000	250	250,000

3500 clergymen, pastors of 6,950,000 people, to receive - - *L.*1,035,000
Episcopal body and other dignitaries of the Established Church - 173,000

Total amount for the clergy of all the people of Ireland - - *L.*1,208,000

Seven millions of people at *L.*170,000 per million - - - - *L.*1,190,000

"'The sum which the Roman Catholics are, like others, entitled to, according to their congregations and accommodation in places of worship, to be subdivided. The Catholic pastors, being single men, to be paid only two-thirds of the stipends; the other third to form a fund, out of which to pay their episcopal body and dignitaries, and also the additional clergymen required by the observances of their religion, as follows:

4 Archbishops - - -	at *L.*1000 each	- - -	*L.*4,000
18 Bishops - - - -	at 700 each	- -	12,600
18 Archdeacons - - -	at 250 each	- - -	4,500
18 Deans - - - -	at 250 each	- - -	4,500
58 persons, the episcopal body, to receive - - - - -			*L.*25,600

OTHER DIGNITARIES.

100 Canons and Prebends, at *L.*50 each - - - - - - *L.*5,000

158 persons, the episcopal body, and other dignitaries of 5,500,000 hearers, to receive - - - - - - - - - - *L.*30,600

The remainder to be paid in stipends to auxiliaries of 120*l.* each.

N. B. This plan to be followed with the Catholics in Great Britain.'" *Remarks*, p. 66.

"Such is his plan of which we have given, we trust, a perfectly fair and intelligible exposition; and of which it now remains to be seen how far the principle on which he sets out is conformable to the broad line of justice, and how far the golden fruits which he anticipates will bear the test of impartial inquiry.

"I. In the first place, it may serve, though in itself not very material to the question, to show the accuracy of the statements which are most generally received concerning the English Church, to examine the *real numbers* of the Protestant Episcopal clergy, and how nearly they approach to the estimate of 18,000, which Mr. Colquhoun and other writers of the same description, have assigned to them. The question is one of no great difficulty, inasmuch as the names of all English and Welch *incumbents* are contained in an alphabetical list at the end of the Clerical Directory, while the Red Book informs us of the *dignitaries*, and a comparison of the two will readily inform us of the names which both these lists enjoy in common; and the result of this comparison will be found to be, that the beneficed and dignified clergy of England and Wales amount to about 6,700; but the stipendiary curates, from the best inquiries in our power, are greatly overrated at 2,000 more, and, as no man can be ordained in England without a title, either arising from a benefice, a curacy, or the fellowship of a college, as the total number of fellowships in Oxford and Cambridge does not exceed 800, of whom barely one half are ordained, and two thirds of those included in the list of curates or incumbents, it follows that the entire number of clerical person falls short of 9000, instead of reaching to 18,000; while of those 9000, 2000 at least are supported, it should be borne in mind, neither by tythes nor lands, but by stipends paid by their more wealthy brethren. So much for the first alleged *fact* of the enormous multitude of clergymen in England and Wales.

"II. When, however, he goes on to state that, taking the whole country through, a single clergyman may suffice for 1800 hearers, it becomes necessary to examine still further the principle on which he proceeds, and to call the recollection of our readers to the duties which every clergyman has to perform, and which *are* actually performed by the very great majority of En-

glish Episcopalian clergy. The double service and double sermon on Sunday is a very small part of this duty. He has to baptize, to bury, to visit the sick, to admonish the immoral, to inspect the schools, to hear the complaints and assist, so far as his means extend, the wants of the district allotted to him. Are these duties unnecessary?—that will not be pretended. Are they insufficiently performed and too often neglected?—this calls for the exercise of a more severe discipline over the labourers now employed, rather than such a diminution of their numbers as would render a due performance impossible. But that they are not, in fact, either systematically or generally neglected, we appeal to the experience of each of our readers in his own immediate neighbourhood, and would ask of each whether his own parish priest does not competently perform such duties; whether any children remain unbaptized, any bodies unburied: whether any frequent or well grounded complaints are made of the sick neglected, or the Sunday functions not attended? And nine-tenths of the gentry of England will, we apprehend, be compelled to answer, that the cases of glaring neglect or gross impropriety are not many; and that the individuals of whose conduct they are most able to judge are, for the most part, decent, orderly, and diligent.

"III. But, what shall we say to the assertion itself that a single priest may, taking the whole kingdom through, suffice for 1800 hearers? Did this writer suppose that all England and Wales were covered with a population of equal density? That pastoral inspection of 1800 souls in Caernarvonshire required no longer walks than the same number in Mary-le-bonne?—or, that a parson who might conveniently take charge of the one, could, without wings, or a chaise and four, at all adequately superintend the other? Has he no mercy on the peasants who are to come five or six miles to divine service, to be christened or married; or, with their deceased friends on their shoulders, to join in the last solemn ceremonies? The thing would be difficult enough, even if all the dissenters dwelt in one part of the country, and all the churchmen in their separate Goshen, in the remaining half. But when both dwell promiscuously, it is plain that each, supposing this writer's calculation accurate, must take

up twice as much ground, and require twice as much labour as it otherwise might; and who will assert that 3,500 clergymen would suffice for the duties required by 6,000,000 of persons so strangely mingled, and dispersed so widely and irregularly?

"IV. Still this is not all. His estimate of that proportion of Englishmen who belong to the established church is manifestly and greatly under-rated. The ground on which he himself founds his calculation is, that the licensed places of dissenting worship are about equal in number to the churches and chapels of the establishment. Now, when he considers how many of the former are built on speculation, and, when that fails, withdrawn from their original destination; when he considers the difference in *size* between the usual run of dissenting chapels throughout the country and the churches with which he compares them;—when he considers the outcry for additional church room which has been heard throughout the land, and the crowds by which, wherever a *free* place of worship is opened in connexion with the establishment, that place has been uniformly attended,—he might be led to believe that a Methodist meeting may sometimes look full for no better reason than that it is of narrow dimensions, while a church may seem empty because its area is great for the dependent population; and that, as no minister can well serve more than one church on a Sunday, the number of churches and of ministers, instead of being excessive, is hardly equal to the growing wants of the church of England.

"V. The truth is, that those political and religious economists are greatly mistaken who suppose that in England and Wales the great mass of the population is divided into sects irreconcileably estranged from each other; that, among the lower and middling classes a churchman or a dissenter never strays into each other's precincts, or that a great proportion of those who make up the congregation of the 'chapel,' do not also frequently resort to the parish church and to the ceremonies of their ancestors. We say nothing of the fact that all or almost all *marriages* are celebrated within those walls,—that dissenters and Roman Catholics, as well as churchmen, are very frequently *buried* in the same place and according to the same forms with their neighbours; and that there are very few dissenters indeed,

who, if they admit of infant baptism at all, bring their children to any other hands than those of their parish minister. But it is well known to every person who has paid even a moderate attention to the state of religious feeling and habits among us, that very many persons who attend the meeting in a Sunday afternoon, have in the morning, with equal devotion, appeared in the church and among the number of its communicants; that the Methodists, the most numerous of all those who frequent licensed places of worship, repel, many of them, with considerable asperity, the imputation of having separated from or forsaken the church of England, and that they seldom fail to pour in their swarm of hearers in every instance where free sittings can be obtained, or where a popular preacher has arisen. Instead, therefore, of reckoning the systematic dissenters at one half of the population, we are pursuaded that one fourth would be considerably nearer the truth; and, that, even of these, there are many who have no great animosity against the church, and occasionally attend divine service there without scruple or reluctance. We are aware that many hot headed alarmists within the church, as well as many without her limits, who seek to detract from her usefulness, have, for different reasons, taken a view of the subject directly opposite to ours;—and we have, therefore, been at some pains to ascertain the truth by a comparison of many different parishes in different parts of the kingdom. The truth is, there is, in England, no *considerable* body of dissenters but the Methodists; and of these we appeal to their own teachers, whether the number of both denominations amounts to any thing like two millions, at the largest valuation, and including every age. The Roman Catholics, the Baptists, the old Presbyterians are none of them numerous. The Unitarians are only to be heard of in a few large towns, and the Quakers are the fewest of all. In this, as in every other instance, the smaller party has made most noise and been most active; but it is only necessary for the friends of the church to know their own strength, and to exert and increase it by the harmless arts and honourable exertions of popularity and public usefulness, to demonstrate to mankind that the hearts of the nation are still on their side, and that, even of those who have been for a time es-

tranged, the greater number are far from irrecoverable. And this may suffice for that part of our author's statement which relates to the numbers of the clergy.

"VI. There is another circumstance which we cannot avoid noticing, as it proves the inconsistency of his plan with his own principles and his own assumptions. He sets out, in his title-page and in the opening sentences of his pamphlet, with taking that for granted, which some other religious economists have also supposed, and which, we believe, is pretty generally believed in that country, of all others, where the Church of England is least known, we mean our sister kingdom of Scotland,—that the English clergy are divided into two races of men, the dignitaries and the *working clergy*, of whom, as this distinction itself implies, the former are utterly idle, and take no part in the public functions of the ministry. We shall have hereafter occasion to show that this is utterly untrue:—that there is no body of men in the English Church who have not their appropriate and important duties; and that the few sinecures which really exist, are, in nine cases out of ten, made supplementary to the reward of an active discharge of duties elsewhere. But what we would now remark, is the strange inconsistency of this reformer, who, while he would prune down the number and income of the labourers in the vineyard to the lowest possible ratio, would keep up a hierarchy, the utility of which he denies, in very nearly its full amount of numbers and opulence!—But these are points of minor or less general interest when compared with those which follow.—

"'*Extract from the Account laid before the House of Commons*, 1818.

Total number of benefices		10,121
Of those under 150*l.*		4,361
Of which no fewer than 1050 fall short of 60*l.* a year each.		
Rental of England and Wales	*L.*32,726,608	15 4
Tithe-free in toto	*L.*8,805,530	
——— part	862,960	
Free on payment of modus	539,243	
Remains titheable	23,268,755	
Tithes returned to tax-office in 1814	2,732,893	

Tithe estimated by the tax-office at one-eighth of rental. Try the above by this rule :—8) 23,268,733

2,908,591 5. The difference to be accounted for by expenses of collecting, bad debts, &c. Of this, one third may be supposed to be appropriated on the following grounds :

In Camden's time there were - - -	9284 parishes	
of which were appropriate - - -	3845) 9284 (2 · -	9284
	7690	3845
	1594	5139

(*Britannia, Introd.* p. cxxxiii. Ed. Gough.)

"Now, though the number of parishes and parochial chapelries has been since augmented, this has only been effected by dividing the 5139 which remained in the hands of the parochial clergy; and the amount of great tithes, which has since been restored to the vicarages, is very small. But there is not the least reason to suppose that the appropriated livings were, one with another, *smaller* than those which remained. An inspection of the king's books will rather lead to the contrary supposition, as well as the fact, that the abbots, whom the impropriators represent, are understood to have engrossed the very richest benefices to themselves. It is reasonable, therefore, to believe that one-third of the tithes are alienated from the parochial clergy.

"But of this third, one-third belongs to the dignified clergy and the universities, which, though lay societies, may be included	3)3845 1282 3845
"Deduct 1282 from 3845	1282
"There remain . . .	2563 parishes

in the hands of the laity, or above one-fourth of the whole. It will follow that, of the total amount of tithes—*L.*2,732,898,

"One fourth, or 4) 2,732,898

683,224 2 are in the hands of the laity.

"From this, indeed, the small or vicarial tithe must be deducted. Now, in agricultural parishes, the small tithe seldom equals one-eighth of the great. Rate it, however, at one-fifth, to allow for the vicarages in towns, which are, proportionally, more valuable, and it follows that—

5)683,224	683,224
136,644 4	136,644
	546,580

the total of tithes, great and small, with which the clergy, the bishops, cathedrals or universities have any concern, is

*L.*2,732,898

"Deduct . . 546,580

*L.*2,186,318

"To this 2,186,318*l.* must be added the augmentation lands, purchased for the smaller livings by Queen Ann's bounty, which Carr values at *L.*100,000

Also the glebes and surplice-fees. These he estimates at 40*l.* on an average to each parish, most ridiculously; inasmuch as, on an average of the parishes in a very large and wealthy county, they did not amount to more than 10*l.* Putting them, however, at the highest, they will be 426,000

*L.*526,000

"The revenues of bishops and cathedral churches must next be considered. Of their incomes, however, it should first be noticed, that two-thirds are derived from appropriated tithes, and included, therefore, in the foregoing estimate.

"The following valuation of the bishops' sees is taken, in default of any official authority, from Debrett's Peerage; a statement founded on common parlance, and, therefore, it may be sufficiently impartial *L.*120,000 0

The cathedral churches we should greatly overrate at 10,000*l.* each, since many of them are merely nominal. The Welsh canonries are many of

them not more than 5*l.* a year, and the archdeaconries, one with another, average 60*l.* . . . *L.*260,000

" Deduct two-thirds for tithe . . . . . 3)380,000

" Remains *L.*126,666 2

2,186,318

*L.*2,312,984

" Or rating, at a fair guess, the tithes held by the universities at 23,000*l.*, the sum of 2,300,000*l.* will remain as the actual wealth of the Church of England.

" And hence, to allow for the depreciation of produce, and of land and tithes, which amounts to more than one-third, the income of the clergy will be 1,600,000*l.*, or at most 2,000,000*l.* yearly. But the number of incumbents, as appears from the Ecclesiastical Directory, are about 7000.

" Divide—7000) 2,000,000(

285*l.*—the average income of the beneficiaries and dignitaries throughout England and Wales. It will not, we think, be said that this is immoderate.

Residence of Clergy.

" There are benefices, of different sorts 10,421

Of these, without glebe-houses 2626

Glebe-houses unfit for residence 2183

4809

" There are livings which cannot singly afford a maintenance to a clergyman, and which, therefore, necessarily imply the holding of two or three of each .

Under 10*l.* . .	12
20 . .	45
30 . .	119
40 . .	246
50 . .	314
60 . .	301
70 . .	278
80 . .	251
	1566

"And allowing two-thirds of these to be included in the list of those without fit glebe-houses, there will remain considerably above 5000 livings, where residence is very difficult, if not impracticable.

"There are also many rectories united to bishopricks and deaneries, constituting a large part of their revenues.

"Of these, those held by bishops are twenty-five."

* * * * * *

The editor has reason to believe that several additional pages of this article were written, but the length of time which has elapsed since it was printed, and the partial destruction which was made of Mr. Gifford's papers relating to the Quarterly Review, after his death, has rendered their recovery hopeless.

To the Rev. H. H. Milman.

Hodnet Rectory, December, 1822.

"My Dear Milman,

"You were very good to recollect me so soon after your return to England; and you may be assured that there are few of your friends who heard of your return in health and high spirits with greater pleasure, or who could regret more our not having met (since our orbits so nearly impinged) in Oxford. Your letter found me more than usually busy in cooking Hebrew roots for the diet of my congregation at Lincoln's Inn, and in analyzing some far worse weeds in different whiggish and jacobinical attacks on the Church of England, for which I am endeavouring to brew an antidote (of which, however, the composer's name must remain a secret) in the next Quarterly. This hurry must be my apology for the delay which has elapsed in thanking you for it; and I can only request you to believe that, more particularly when my curate is from home, and I have the undivided care of Hodnet on my shoulders, I have but too many good reasons for being a very bad correspondent.

"Of my conversations with the bishop of London, I have, on the whole, a very favourable account to render. He himself acknowledged and lamented a deficiency in ear; and, accordingly, being accustomed to judge of metres rather by his fingers

than by any other test, he is less tolerant than I could wish of anapæstics and trochaic lines. He was surprised, however, when I showed him that your 'Chariot' for Advent Sunday rolled to the same time with the old 104th Psalm. In other respects his taste is exquisite; though, where my own lines were concerned, I thought him sometimes too severe and uncompromising a lover of simplicity.

"On the whole, however, we have passed his ordeal triumphantly. He encourages us to proceed, and even suggests the advantage of Psalms, two for each Sunday, from the different authorised versions enumerated by Todd, to be published in the same volume with our hymns. This we may talk over when we meet, which I hope we may contrive to do in January or February next. At present, a muse would hardly venture over the threshold of my study, though she were to come in the disguise of a parish clerk, and escorted by Thomas Sternhold, Esq. Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod.

"Many thanks for your account of Mrs. Hemans' play. You have shown her great and most judicious kindness, and I verily believe her worthy of it, both in disposition and talents.

"Believe me, dear Milman,

"Very much your obliged friend,

"Reginald Heber."

CHAPTER XXI.

Mr. Reginald Heber receives the offer of the Bishopric of Calcutta—Correspondence with Mr. Williams Wynn—Receives his Doctor of Divinity's degree from the University of Oxford, by diploma—Visits Malpas—His farewell sermon at Hodnet—Departure from Hodnet—His last sermon at Lincoln's Inn, mentioned in a letter from Sir Thomas D. Acland, Bart.—Preaches at St. Paul's before the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Consecrated at Lambeth—The Bishop receives the Valedictory Address of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Farewell Letters. 1822—1823.

The editor is now arrived at the most important period of her husband's life—a period to which she cannot recur without acute pain. The quiet private station which he had hitherto filled was to be exchanged for one where his conduct would attract the attention of the Christian world, and where he would become an object of anxious solicitude to many; one for which much was to be forsaken, much suffered, though undoubtedly there was much also to be enjoyed: the comforts of domestic life were, in a great degree, to be given up; his literary pursuits neglected, and the scenes which he loved, the familiar faces that surrounded him, and the society of his mother and of his family, were to be replaced by strangers in a strange land. It will not be uninteresting, and the editor trusts it will be instructive, to trace the feelings and causes which gave rise to this change.

For many years Mr. Reginald Heber had watched with interest the progress made by Christianity, wherever English influence extended; and he assisted, by every means within his power, the exertions of the various religious societies to which he belonged; but more especially to India had his thoughts and views been anxiously directed. With Martyn he had, in idea, travers-

ed its sultry regions, had shared in his privations, had sympathized in his sufferings, and had exulted in the prospects of success occasionally opened to him. Many of Martin's sufferings and privations he saw were caused by a peculiar temperament, and by a zeal which, disregarding all personal danger and sacrifice, led that devoted servant of God to follow, at whatever risk, those objects which would have been more effectually attained, and at a less costly sacrifice, had they been pursued with caution and patience He could separate the real and unavoidable difficulties of the task from such as resulted from these causes, and he felt that they were not insuperable.

Without ever looking to any thing beyond the privilege of assisting at a distance those excellent men who were using their talents for the advancement of Christianity, he would frequently express a wish that his lot had been thrown among them; and he would say, that, were he alone concerned, and were there none who depended on him, and whose interests and feelings he was bound to respect, he would cheerfully go forth to join in that glorious train of martyrs, whose triumphs he has celebrated in one of his hymns. He felt, (and on that Christian feeling did he act) that any sacrifice which he could make would be amply compensated by his becoming the instrument of saving one soul from destruction. On the erection of the Episcopal see in India, and on the appointment of Dr. Middleton to its duties, his interest in that country increased; he had long known and venerated the learning and piety of that excellent man, and faithful minister of Christ; and he now watched his progress through the arduous task which he had undertaken, with deep anxiety.

Besides the concern which he took in the religious state of the East, those regions had a romantic charm in his mind; he loved to contemplate human nature in every varied form, and his imagination was keenly alive to the terrible natural phenomena of tropical climes, to the magnificence of their scenery, and the beauty and variety of their animal productions. With the editor he had frequently traced on the map long journeys through countries which he afterwards visited; as well as through those more distant regions of Australasia and Polynesia, with which, had a longer life been granted him, he would in all probability,

have also become acquainted. It was with this knowledge of her husband's feelings that the editor first heard of Bishop Middleton's death, and that the recommendation of his successor was in the power of their friend, the right honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn, at that time President of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India. She was then on a visit to her father in Wales, and the conviction that her husband's inclinations would lead him to accept of the office should it be offered to him, immediately flashed on her mind. The obstacles to this step were such as, to a less devoted Christian, would have been insurmountable; and even to him they presented so formidable an aspect as twice to determine his rejection of the proposal. His letters prove the conflict of his mind at this period, but no one, except the editor, can bear witness to the earnestness of his prayers for guidance in the course which he was now to pursue; to his distrust of the motives that had led him to decline the appointment, and to his struggle between a sense of what he believed to be his duty, and his apprehensions for his wife and child; (for of danger to himself he thought not;) his affection for his family, who strongly opposed his leaving England, and the painful prospect of a complete separation from all the early objects of friendship. However, after his second, and, as he conceived, final refusal, his regret for having abandoned what he deemed the path of duty marked out for him by Providence, was so great, that the editor was induced to suggest his retracting, if it should still be in his power. Some family arrangements with regard to his child were also settled to his satisfaction; and the bishopric continuing vacant, he took that important step which "to the unwise," may seem to have ended in "misery," yet is "his hope full of immortality."

From the Right Honourable C. W. W. Wynn.

East India Office, December 2, 1822.

"My Dear Reginald,

"You will have seen in the newspapers the death of the bishop of Calcutta. I cannot expect, and certainly do not wish that with your fair prospects of eminence at home, you

should go to the Ganges for a mitre. Indeed 5000*l.* per annum for fifteen years, and a retiring pension of 1,500*l.* at the end of them, is not a temptation which could compensate you for quitting the situation and comforts which you now enjoy, if you were certain of never being promoted. You would, however, extremely oblige me by giving me, in the strictest confidence, your opinion as to those who have been, or are likely to be suggested for that appointment; and you would add to the obligation, if you could point out any one who, to an inferior degree of theological and literary qualification, adds the same moderation, discretion, and active benevolence, which would make me feel that, if you were not destined, I trust, to be still more usefully employed at home, I should confer the greatest blessing upon India in recommending you.

"Ever most faithfully your's,

"C. W. Williams Wynn."

To the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 7, 1822.

"My Dear Wynn,

"I can hardly tell you how much I feel obliged by the kind manner in which you speak of me, and the confidence which you have reposed in me. I will endeavour to merit both by the strictest secrecy, and by speaking honestly and closely to the points in which you wish for information.

"* * * I heartily wish I myself deserved even a small part of the kind expressions you have used towards me. I will confess that (after reading missionary reports and some of Southey's articles in the Quarterly) I have sometimes been tempted to wish myself bishop of Calcutta, and to fancy that I could be of service there. Had *you*, as was once reported, gone out to the east, I should have liked it beyond most other preferment. As it is, I am, probably, better at home, so far as my personal happiness is concerned, than in a situation, however distinguished, and however splendidly paid, which involves so many sacrifices of health, home, and friendship. Yet, in my present feelings, and with very imperfect information as to some particulars which, for my family's sake, it is necessary I should know, will you permit me to defer my answer for a few

days, till I have been able to consult those whom I am bound to consult on such an occasion,—my wife, my brother, and my mother?

"If, however, I have misunderstood you, or if any fitter man occurs to you, or any person to whose claims, as a public man, you find it desirable to attend, let me beg you, *per amicitiam*, to set me aside without scruple or delay, and the more so because I do not yet hardly know my own inclinations, much more those of the persons whom I must consult.

"There is one case, indeed, in which, however anxious I or they may be for the appointment, I should wish you to put me decidedly out of the question; I mean if any eligible person should be found among the archdeacons and chaplains already in India. The time may, perhaps, be not yet arrived for a division of the single unwieldy diocese into three, which otherwise might be done with ease, and with no additional expense, by raising the three archdeacons to the episcopal dignity, and dividing the salary of the bishop among them in addition to that which they already receive. If it were, such an arrangement might, I conceive, add greatly to the improvement and extension of Christian India; while, if the bishop of Calcutta were made primate, a unity of system and a power of appeal might be preserved as well as at present. But, at all events, it must be a great advantage to a bishop to have been already for some time conversant with the wants, the habits, and the persons of his flock, his clergy and his Heathen neighbours; and the advancement of a deserving man among their own number, might be a very beneficial stimulus to the activity and circumspection of the inferior clergy. Of the present archdeacons, however, I know nothing or next to nothing.

"I fear I shall have tired you with my long letter; it is you yourself, however, who have encouraged me; and I hope, nay I am convinced that you will not misunderstand the feelings with which I have written it; but that you will believe me, whatever may be the upshot of the business so far as it regards myself,

"Dear Charles,

"Ever your obliged and faithful friend,

"REGINALD HEBER

"My wife and child are still at Bodryddan, where I shall not join them till after Christmas. Your letter arrived when I was from home, and I confess I wanted a day to put my thoughts in order. This will, I trust, plead as my apology for not answering you sooner."

To Mrs. R. Heber.

Hatton Garden, December 7, 1822.

"My Dearest Love,

"I found, on my return home yesterday, the enclosed letter from C. W. Wynn: his friendship and good opinion are very gratifying; and I will confess I have been a good deal inclined to express, what he does not seem to anticipate, my own readiness to go to India.

"You may recollect that we have occasionally talked the thing over, though never dreaming that we should ever have the option. I do not think we should either of us dislike a residence of some years, (though fifteen is a long time) in a new and interesting country. The present appointment is considerable, and even the retiring pension more than we are ever again likely to receive from Hodnet; and whatever hopes of advancement at home my friends may hold out, we must not forget that their tenure of power is very uncertain, and that they have many claims which they may be compelled to gratify before mine. On the other hand, even 5,000*l.* a year, when we reckon the expenses of a voyage to India and a residence there, the probable curtailment of life, and the vastly increased rate of life insurance, will make me a very little richer man, and probably not so happy a one as I may be with even my present diminished income. I know not how India will agree with your health or that of our little darling, or what disadvantage it might offer to her education and prospects. Nor could we either of us, though most happy in each other, take leave, without a very bitter pang, of so many excellent friends, some of whom we could not reasonably hope to meet again on earth.

* * * * *

These feelings would have at once decided me to be of the same opinion which C. W. Wynn expresses, were I quite sure whether

I should not do God more acceptable service by going than by staying here. In the acceptance of *this* bishopric I should be, at least, sure that I was not actuated by secular or unworthy views. I verily believe and hope that I should be of considerable use there by moderating between the two missionary societies, and directing their efforts in accordant and useful channels; and by a removal into an entirely new sphere of action, we should both have the advantage of, in some measure, beginning life anew, unfettered by previous habits and intimacies, and only studious how we might best live to God and to the good of His creatures.

"Yet here, again, I cannot be sure that I am not drawing a picture to myself which I should find utterly imaginary. If I am idle and fond of society in England, I shall be still more disposed to both in a relaxing climate and in the bustle of a government town. I cannot, without ridiculous vanity, say that my services are *necessary* to the Indian Church, or that plenty of persons may not be found as fit, or fitter to undertake the duty. It is not an unpopular or an unprofitable post; many are anxious to obtain it. Perhaps if I went there, I should keep out some man whose knowledge of eastern languages and customs makes him far better adapted for it; and perhaps, even if I remain as I am, and where I *hope* I am really useful, I am labouring in my vocation more steadily than in searching out new spheres of duty.

"There is also another consideration; C. W. Wynn does not absolutely *offer* the situation to me, though he says he should have been willing to name me if it had suited me. And there is a feeling, which I cannot well explain, which makes me very reluctant to ask for a situation myself, in the disposal of which my advice is solicited.

"Under these circumstances, I shall give what appears to me, at present, the honestest counsel, and which I am happy has occurred to my mind, that namely, if any of the archdeacons or chaplains now resident in India, and already familiar with the interests and situation of the Church there, are proper persons for the appointment, he should give it to one of them. It seems very desirable for the Indian Church both that her bishop should have some previous acquaintance with his flock, and the people

for whose conversion he is to labour, and also that her inferior clergy, by having the prospect of promotion before their eyes, should have a great stimulus to good conduct and activity; I shall tell him the truth that 'I am not sure whether some circumstances might not induce me to like the situation myself, if I have not misunderstood the purport of his letter, but that I really think he will best serve the cause by offering it to one of the resident clergy.' If there is any objection to this arrangement I may possibly hear from him again; but this is unlikely. Should it be so, however, I shall know by this time how you feel; at all events I have thus opened my mind fully to you, and hope, may believe, that you will not wish me to have acted differently. God bless you dear love!"

From the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

East India Office, Dec. 10, 1822.

"My Dear Reginald,

"I not only cannot wish, but I really believe, (putting my own personal feelings aside,) that I could not honestly advise you to accept the mitre of Calcutta, considering what your present situation and future prospects are in this country. At the same time this must be determined by you, and you only; and I should feel that I was not doing my duty to the millions of India, if I did not afford every facility in my power towards your undertaking the task. * * It appears to me that there is a decided and insuperable objection to the appointment of any of the archdeacons; and that is, the consequent delay in filling up the see; any one of them must return for consecration, which would extend the vacancy to two years and a half. This may be a reason for hereafter converting the archdeacons into bishops, but I am sure this is not the exact moment to attempt it.

"Ever affectionately your's,

C. W. W. Wynn.

To Mrs. R. Heber.

Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 10, 1822.

"Your letter is marked with your usual good sense, piety, and affection,—and the readiness which you express to go with

me to India, makes me so much the better satisfied with the letter I wrote to C. W. Wynn, requesting time to consider of the business, but leaving either side at liberty to recede; I, if my nearest relations disapproved,—he if he found a fitter man, or one whom, as minister, he could not neglect.

"For myself I own, as I contemplate the proposed step, my objections to it become less and less, provided it appears that I have the means of securing a provision for you and our child, and that our parents are reconciled to it. Without the former object secured, I do not think I am called on to go to a service, however important, to supply which there are so many candidates; and without the latter I should not expect God's blessing either on my own prospects, or on my ministerial labours. But with these requisites, I really should not think myself justified in declining a situation of so great usefulness, and for which, without vanity, I think myself not ill adapted, either from a love for the society and friendships of England, or from a hope, which may never be realized, of being some time or other in a situation of more importance at home. This consideration has had great weight with Heber as well as myself; and he ended our last conversation with saying, 'after all it will depend on Emily.' * * * * On the whole my mind is now perfectly at ease, and your letter has greatly contributed to make it so. My determination, so far as respects myself, is made—and made, I hope and believe, on conscientious grounds. All I now feel anxious about, is the manner in which your father and my mother will feel, and the best way of breaking the subject to the latter. In other respects I am satisfied, however the event may turn out. If God sees it best for us and for others that we should go to India, we shall go; if not, we have abundant reason to be content with His decision, and to rely implicitly on His wisdom and goodness. At all events, I feel thankful to Him for the many blessings which I enjoy, and that your language and conduct on this occasion has been such, my dear wife, as still more to endear you to your affectionate husband."

To Mrs. R. Heber.

Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 23, 1822.

"The disagreements of doctors are very distressing as well as very perplexing. When I enclosed ———'s letter to you on Saturday, I had no doubt remaining on my mind as to the propriety and even absolute necessity of declining the appointment. What I have since heard has not decidedly altered that opinion, but it has renewed my fear of deciding wrong, and made me uneasy lest I should hereafter have to reproach myself with having, through unnecessary fear and want of confidence in God's protection, refused a great and distinguished opportunity of serving Him. Yet I think I am right in declining it; I think we are justified, when the life of so precious a being is concerned, in choosing the safer side. Supposing that we went to India, and that it was necessary to bring Emily home at ten years old, we shall have been little more than seven years in India, allowing for the voyage and the delay previous to sailing; a time too short to have saved a competency, or to have done much real good in my diocese. I would run this risque cheerfully, if I thought my call to India was clear, or my services there *necessary* to the good cause. But, as things stand, I hope I am justified in drawing back. * * * * If I finally come to this resolution, my feelings for my poor mother will certainly have materially influenced me. I went to Moreton yesterday and found her, however, more composed than I had expected; she said she would bear any thing sooner than that I should not do what I thought right; but, as she spoke, she burst into a bitter flood of tears, and said, 'I am seventy-one; I never can expect to see you again.' I told her as before that I did not think I should go, but could not yet pledge myself.

"Make my best acknowledgements to your kind, good, high-minded father. I suspect that both he and you think me more anxious to go to India than I really am. I certainly have wished it strongly; but for these three days I have ceased to think it probable; and I can assure you that its abandonment, if it appears necessary or advisable, will not cost me a moment's tranquillity. Yet certainly I will not abandon it unnecessarily or

lightly, and the more so now that I have obtained the permission of our parents. The question lies in a nut-shell, and believe me I will determine it to the best of my ability for your interest, for that of our dear infant, and according to my own sense of what is right and proper. All these considerations, indeed, are in my mind inseparable from each other, nor can I neglect any single one without injuring all.

"Adieu dear love! pray be tranquil, for I can assure you I am quite so. If I accept the Indian offer, I mean, by God's help, to do my best to fill the situation properly; if not, I shall, I hope, increase in usefulness at home, though not, perhaps, in an equally extended sphere. But I have no reason to suspect my own motives; and which ever way I determine I shall be content, and heartily glad to get it off my mind."

To the Right Honourable C. W. Williams Wynn.

Hodnet Rectory, December 26th, 1822.

"My Dear Wynn,

"It has occasioned me much regret and no little shame that I have so long trespassed on your forbearance, in delaying either to reject or accept your kind offer. Yet, indeed, a different conduct has been scarcely in my power. I was, at the time, separated from my wife, and my parochial duties prevented my joining her. I applied to two medical men on the subject of the probable effect of a hot climate on the health of my little girl, and received answers so directly opposite, as to make a fresh reference necessary. My mother, my brother, and my father-in-law were all to be consulted; and what, under all circumstances, was in itself no short or easy task, my own mind was to be made up. Under these circumstances I can only throw myself on your indulgence, and express my hope that no material inconvenience has arisen from my indecision.

"Heber will call on you soon after you receive this letter, in order to settle finally whether or no your kind offer is to be accepted. In some points he is as much interested as I am; and his residence in London, and an interview which he was to have with Dr. Warren, will enable him to determine better than

I myself can as to the general eligibility of the measure, and its safety so far as the health of my child is concerned.

"Yet, I confess, if it is not presuming too far on your friendship, it is by your opinion that I should wish to have my fate decided. I am aware that you, in the first instance, advised me against going to India, an advice which would have been at once decisive of my choice, had I not apprehended that it might be given under a misconception of my present circumstances. * * * * * * But though I do not pretend to be indifferent to the power of raising a provision for my wife and child, and though this is the first point on which I should request you to judge for me, I trust you will believe me when I say that there is a second in my eyes of far greater importance. I mean my probable comparative usefulness in India or in England. It has, indeed, been for several years a favourite day dream of mine, to fancy myself conducting the affairs of an extended mission, and by conciliation and caution, smoothing the difficulties and appeasing the religious quarrels and jealousies which have hitherto chiefly opposed the progress of Christianity in the east. Yet, I will confess, now that my '*chateau en Espagne*' is brought nearer to me, I begin, not unfrequently, to doubt the correctness of my former views, and to hesitate whether I may not possibly be doing more substantial good, and be engaged in a task for which I am better qualified, while filling my pulpit at Lincoln's Inn, and with that chance of further openings of usefulness and advantages which, sometime or other, good conduct in that situation has usually met with. Will you permit me, now you know my circumstances and my feelings, to ask whether you would be still disposed to give me the same advice which you did when I first expressed my wish for the appointment? And might I further ask, as the greatest instance of friendship which I can hope for from you, that you would put yourself in my place and decide for me as for yourself under similar circumstances?

"I have often wished to make this appeal to you before; a wish which naturally arose from my unfeigned deference for your talents and excellent judgment, and from the belief which I cherish most fondly, and for which you have given me abun-

dant reason, of your friendship for me. But—I know not why —I have always shrunk from doing so; and, to say the truth, the probable health of my child (for my wife's and my own I have no apprehension) has been the subject which, till within these few days, has almost exclusively engrossed my solicitude. May I now, however, hope to reap the advantage of your superior information and better judgment, and that you will either tell me your sentiments, or (as so much time has already elapsed) deal with me at once as you think best, and for those whom, either in India or in England, it will be my business to try to make better. You may be assured that, however you may determine, that determination will be met by me with perfect confidence and gratitude. My sincerest esteem and regard, my earnest and (I will add) my daily prayers for the happiness of yourself and your family, have long been your's.

"Believe me, dear Wynn,

"Ever your obliged and faithful friend,

"REGINALD HEBER."

From the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

East India Office, December 28, 1822.

"MY DEAR REGINALD,

"* * * While I am writing, your brother has come in with a letter from Dr. Warren, which he seems to think will decide you to stay in this country. I can easily imagine how painful and difficult the determination must be to you. * * I apprehend, from the examples which I have seen, that your child might be safely kept at Calcutta till six, and that at thirteen she might return; in short, that from her sixth to her fourteenth birth day, would be the whole period of her absence from you.

"Considering her interest exclusively, as circumstances now are, I should, I believe, keep you here; the case, however, might be altered, if your family should increase. In a pecuniary view, I certainly do not think *you* would be compensated for such a sacrifice; but I must, in candour, state, on the other hand, that I do not know of any situation where I believe that

your virtues and your talents would find an ampler scope for their exertion, or where their effect would be more essentially beneficial to your fellow creatures. I can truly state, that I believe you most peculiarly qualified for it.

"In considering this subject, it would not be fair to judge the *real* value of any such situation merely from what can be laid by, since the expenditure of a considerable income in beneficial and honourable purposes, is in itself a gratification which you, of all men, are least likely to overlook.

"You will easily believe that I am most alive to the confidence in my friendship and judgment, which disposes you to rest the matter wholly on my opinion; but, in good truth, it is a decision which no man can make for another. Where a choice is to be made between two certainties or two uncertainties, every one may, on behalf of his friend, estimate their comparative value; he may be deceived in that estimate, but still it is formed upon the same principle by every one. The balance is the same, though the hand which holds it may be more or less steady; but where a certainty is to be weighed against an uncertainty, no two persons will suspend the beam at the same point.

"Here then I must leave the subject, and will only advise that, if you continue to hesitate, you should, without any further delay, yourself come to town, as I am certain that half an hour's conversation with those on whose judgment you rely, will be more satisfactory than any possible correspondence. To any of these you are at full liberty to mention the offer in confidence. God bless and direct you.

"Ever most truly your's.
"C. W. Williams Wynn."

To the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 29, 1822.

"My Dear Wynn,

"Pray accept my grateful thanks for all your kindness. I am fully persuaded that, both in a worldly point of view, and as a field of active and highly distinguished usefulness, the situation which you have held out to me would be more than I had any

right to expect, and greatly preferable to what may come late, or not at all.

"But I cannot, after Dr. Warren's letter, venture to take out my child to India; and I have no idea that her mother could bear to part with her even for the time you have stated. I shall see my wife on Tuesday, but I do not think it necessary to wait for that conversation; and I feel I have already hesitated too long.

"I can only then repeat my expressions of most sincere gratitude, and my best wishes for the prosperity and happiness of all belonging to you, as well as that your distinguished talents and many excellent qualities, may long be spared to the country for whose prosperity you labour.

"Believe me, your much obliged and faithful friend,

"REGINALD HEBER.

"I will write to you again from Bodryddan, but I request that if any eligible person occurs in the mean time, you will regard my present answer as final."

To the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

Bodryddan, Jan. 2, 1823.

"MY DEAR WYNN,

"On conference with my wife and her friends, as well as weighing carefully the advantages and inconveniences of the appointment which you have so kindly offered me, I find that the impression which I entertained when I wrote last to you is confirmed, and that I shall consult both happiness and duty best by declining it. That I have received such an offer, and from *you*, I shall never cease to recollect with pride and gratitude.

"Believe me ever,

"Your much obliged and affectionate friend,

"REGINALD HEBER."

From the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

East India Office, Jan. 4, 1823.

"My Dear Reginald,

"Till I received your final decision I have been averse to writing further, or in any degree influencing your mind upon the subject; but now that this is formed, I cannot refrain from expressing the gratification which I feel at your remaining in this country, and my conviction that in your place I should have determined as you have done.

"Ever most faithfully your's,

C. W. Williams Wynn."

To the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

Bodryddan, Jan. 7, 1823.

"I am going to take a strange, and, I fear, an unjustifiable step, more particularly after your kind and gratifying letter of yesterday. I must, however, throw myself on your indulgence, and merely beg you to recollect that my only reason for declining the Indian Bishopric, was the probable effect of the climate on my child. I now find that a friend in this neighbourhood has written to consult a physician, who has had long experience in Bengal, and is reckoned able to speak with more confidence as to the diseases of the country, than any person to whom I have applied. I expect to receive his answer on Thursday. Should you not have disposed of the situation to any one before this letter reaches you, will it be too much to hope that you will wait till Saturday or Monday, for the chance of hearing again from your obliged and faithful friend,

"Reginald Heber."

To the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

Bodryddan, Jan. 11, 1823.

"The report of the Bengal physician, though more favourable than some which we had before, has not so far differed from the results of former inquiries, as to induce me to alter my opinion.

"This, however, I will say, that, should you really find the difficulty great of procuring a fit man for the situation, and still think me adapted for it, the sacrifice which I would not make for the sake of wealth and dignity, both my wife and myself will cheerfully make in order to prevent any serious inconvenience to a cause of so much importance. I trust, however, that no such necessity will occur.

"Ever your much obliged friend,

"REGINALD HEBER."

To the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

Bodryddan, Jan. 12, 1823.

"MY DEAR WYNN,

"Since writing to you yesterday, some circumstances have occurred, which would very materially alleviate the objections of my wife and myself against a temporary separation from our child, should such an arrangement be found necessary; and Emily, whose feelings I was chiefly anxious to spare, is now sorry that I have declined the appointment which your kindness has offered me. I feel that what I have twice let go, I have no possible reason to hope for again, and cannot but think it most probable that the bishopric is, by this time, in better hands than mine; yet as the situation may be still vacant, I am induced to give you this last trouble, and to say that, should this be the case, I shall accept it gratefully.

"Should it be otherwise, I beg you to believe that my gratitude for what you have already done will be still the same, and that my chief anxiety at this moment is—not lest I should be too late or unsuccessful in my application—but lest the manner in which, I am sensible, I have trespassed on your kindness, should rob me of any part of your good opinion. God bless you and your's.

"Believe me ever your grateful friend,

"REGINALD HEBER"

From the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

Whitehall, Jan. 15, 1823.

"My Dear Reginald,

"On my return from Audley End this morning, I found your letter, and though rather prepared to expect it from your last, I have not yet sufficiently reconciled my mind to the idea of being, for so long a period and by so great a distance, separated from you, to be able to dwell as I ought on the benefits which I anticipate to India from your acceptance of the See of Calcutta. May God protect and guide you.

"I have had much conversation with the chairman and deputy chairman, and believe that the directors will be disposed to provide you with a house.

"I will write down to Brighton to-morrow in order to submit your name for the King's approbation.

"Ever most faithfully your's,

"C. W. Williams Wynn."

From the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

East India House, Jan. 18, 1823.

"The king has returned his *entire* approbation of your appointment to Calcutta, and if I could only divide you so as to leave one part in England and send the other to India, it would also have mine; but the die is now cast, and we must not look at any side but that which stands uppermost.

"Ever your's,

"C. W. W. Wynn."

To the Right Honourable C. W. Williams Wynn.

Bodryddan, Jan. 1823

"My Dear Wynn,

"For this last, as well as for all former proofs of your kindness, accept my best thanks. God grant that my conduct in India may be such as not to do your recommendation discredit, or to make you repent the flattering confidence which you have placed in me.

"Your much obliged friend,

"Reginald Heber."

To John Thornton, Esq.

Bodryddan, January, 1823.

"My Dear Friend,

"Your kind and gratifying letter followed me to this place, and found me actually suffering under the uncertainty of expectation respecting the very appointment for which you are good enough to regard me as well fitted. It was offered me some little time ago; and I, in the first instance, declined it—partly on account of the opposition of all my nearest relations, partly from the apprehended danger of the climate to my little girl, for whose health the medical men whom we consulted expressed great fears. These obstacles, however, have since been in a great measure removed or softened; and another opportunity of making my choice having occurred to me, I have taken the situation, and my name has been offered for the king's approbation.

"In making this decision I hope and believe that I have been guided by conscientious feelings. I can at least say that I have prayed to God most heartily to show me the path of duty, and to give me grace to follow it; and the tranquillity of mind which I now feel (very different from that which I experienced after having declined it) induces me to hope that I have His blessing and approbation. And as most of my friends tell me, I should have done more wisely, in a worldly point of view, if I had remained at home, I am, perhaps, so much the more ready to hope that it has not been the dignity of a mitre, or the salary of 5000*l.* a year which have tempted me.*

"I often, however, feel my heart sick when I recollect the sacrifices which I must make of friends, such as few, very few, have been blessed with. Yet it is a comfort to me to think that most of them are younger than myself; and that if I live through my fifteen years' service, and should then think myself justified in returning, we may hope to spend the evening of our lives together. But be this as it may, I am persuaded that prayer can traverse land and sea, and not only keep affection alive between

* By the depreciation in the value of the sicca rupee, the salary was reduced to 4,250*l.* per annum.—Ed.

absent friends, but send blessings from one to the other. Pray for me, my dear Thornton, that my life and doctrine may be such as they ought to be; that I may be content in my station, active in my duty, and firm in my faith,—and that, when I have preached to others, I may not be myself a cast-away.

"I wish my prayers were of greater efficacy, but, such as they are, your name is never omitted in them!

"God bless you, your Eliza and your children! Emily sends her best regards. Her conduct has, throughout this affair, been every thing which I could wish.

"In the present stage of the business, I do not wish my name to be mentioned. You will observe that the affair is not *settled* till the king has signified his pleasure.

"Your affectionate friend,

"REGINALD HEBER."

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Bodryddan, January 18, 1823.

"It is probable that you may have already heard of my determination as to the bishopric of Calcutta, and that, through the kindness of Charles Wynn, my name has, at length, been laid before the king. At this termination of my doubts, you, I think, are less likely to be surprised than most of my friends, since you have, I believe, more than once, heard me express the liking which I should feel for such a situation. I *think* and *hope* I have done well in accepting it. It has, indeed, been a serious struggle; and even now I feel my heart sometimes ready to sink, when I look at the sacrifices which I must make of society, of the scenes of early youth, and above all, of friendship. Yet my more serious difficulties have been, in a great measure, removed; my relations, who were at first opposed to my going, have, by degrees, softened in their repugnance. All the medical people whom I have consulted, consider my wife and myself as likely to stand any climate without injury; and those who are best acquainted with the climate of Bengal tell us that there can be no danger in taking out our child, though it may possibly be necessary to send her back four or five years hence, for some years.

In that case, the Dean and Mrs. Yonge have offered to receive her. As to the prospect of eventually obtaining better preferment at home, with which some of my friends have flattered me, I confess I have not so exalted an idea of my own merits, or so firm a confidence in my own good fortune, as to prefer such a chance to the certainty of an honourable and useful employment. And why should I conceal any part of the truth from such a friend as yourself? I hope I am not an enthusiast; but I am and have long been most anxious for the cause of Christianity in India; and I have persuaded myself that I am not ill adapted to contribute to its eventual success, by conciliating the different sects employed in the task, and by directing, and in some instances, reining in and moderating their zeal. Nor, even as a matter of amusement and interesting study, have I any objection to voyages and travels in a new country. The worst is the length of time which I must be absent; but if I am actively and usefully employed, this may be well endured when the pang of parting is once over; and the excellent friends whom I leave behind are, happily, most of them so young as to afford me good hopes of being able, after all, to pass the evening of life in their society.

"God bless you, my dear friend, and believe me that wherever I am, my affection, my gratitude, and my heart's warmest wishes for your prosperity, will ever be alive and active!

"REGINALD HEBER."

To the Honourable Mrs. Douglas.

Bodryddan, Jan. 19, 1823.

"MY DEAR HARRIET,

"I should have thanked you long since for your truly kind letter, but I deferred writing till I should be able to give you positive information on the subject to which you alluded incidentally; I mean that of the Indian bishopric. I then hardly knew my own mind; still less the wishes of Emily, and of those others whose feelings I was bound to consult; though I had, even then, a strong bias in favour of the situation. * *

* * * * * * *

I could not think it right to decline a situation distinguished in itself, and affording an almost unbounded opening for professional utility, for the mere chance of events which might never arrive, and for the sake of personal feelings of friendship and social happiness. Surely a priest should be like a soldier, who is bound to go on any service for which he thinks himself suited, and for which a fair opening occurs, however he may privately prefer staying at home, or flatter himself with the hopes of a more advantageous situation afterwards. I may also say that for many years, I hardly know how long, I have had a lurking fondness for all which belongs to India or Asia; that there are no travels which I have read with so much interest as those in that country, and that I have often felt or fancied that I should like to be in the very situation which has now been offered to me, as a director of missionaries, and ministering to the spiritual wants of a large colony.

"I do not pretend to be above feeling anxiety for the pecuniary interests of my wife and child, and I will fairly own that the prospect of being able to secure something, though but little more than I was likely to do in the present depreciated state of the living of Hodnet, had also its weight with me. But this I can confidently say, and I think you will believe me, is the consideration which has had *least* influence on my decision.

"This is a long and, I fear, a tedious *exposé* of my motives; but it has been prompted by some expressions in your letter, and by my desire that you should think of me neither as an enthusiast, nor as willing to sacrifice every thing for a mitre and an increase of stipend. * * * * * * * but it is my comfort that those whom I have least hope of seeing again have other children, and, from their resigned and cheerful tempers, are the less unable to bear my absence. * * * * *

"That you my dear Harriet may live long and happily; that I may continue to possess and deserve your regard in this world, and that beyond the grave also our affection may be renewed and enhanced, is the earnest hope of,

"Sincerely your affectionate cousin,

"Reginald Heber."

To the Rev. J. J. Blunt.

Bodryddan, Jan. 21, 1823.

"My Dear Sir,

"You will probably be surprised to find that I have recalled my refusal of the Indian Bishopric, and that I have just received intelligence that the King has approved my appointment. The different reasons which have led me to take this step we may talk over when we meet; in a note I have no room for them, and I hope to be again in Hodnet the second week in February. To the parting which must then follow I look forward, I confess, with considerable apprehension, both for myself and for my wife. However, I can say with confidence that I have acted for the best; and even now that the die is cast, I feel no regret for the resolution I have taken, nor any distrust of the mercies and goodness of Providence, who may both protect me and mine, and if He sees best for us, bring us back again, and preserve our excellent friends to welcome us. Among that number I think myself happy to reckon *you*. For England and the scenes of my earliest and dearest recollections, I know no better farewell than that of Philoctetes.

Χαιρ', ω πεδον αμφιαλον—
Καμ', ευπλοιᾳ, πεμψον αμεμπτως,
Ενθ' ἡ μεγαλη Μοιρα κομιζει
Γνωμη τε φιλων, χω πανδαματωρ
Δαιμων, ὁς ταυτ' επεκρανεν.

"Believe me my dear Sir,

"Ever your's most truly,

"Reginald Heber."

To the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

St. Asaph, Jan. 22, 1823.

"My Dear Lord,

"The uniform kindness which I have experienced from your Lordship, makes me believe that you will hear with some inter-

est that it is, at length, finally arranged that I am to be Bishop of Calcutta, and that I have just received intelligence of the King's approbation.

"I know not when I am expected to sail, but trust it will not be till the beginning of June. The intervening time I feel will be but too short to take leave of so many excellent friends in. I hope and trust that I may not be useless where I am going, and that nothing which those friends will hear of me in India will alter the favourable opinion with which they have hitherto honoured me. Your Lordship's name, and the name of All Souls must ever be associated in my mind with the most agreeable recollections, and the most lively gratitude.

"Believe me, my dear Lord,

"Your much obliged and faithful humble servant,

"REGINALD HEBER."

To Mr. Joseph Hughes, Parish Clerk at Hodnet.

Chester, Jan. 22, 1823.

"MY WORTHY FRIEND,

"You and I have been so long connected by neighbourhood and good will, as well as by other circumstances, that I feel sincere regret at saying that we are at last to part. The King has named me the new Bishop of Calcutta, and I shall have to sail for India in the spring, or early in the summer. I need hardly say that I shall always remember Hodnet with pleasure, and that while preaching to the Heathen in a distant country, I shall never cease to pray for the prosperity of my old congregation; the place where I have received so much respect and kindness; where I have passed the best years of my life; and where, if it pleases God to spare me during fifteen years of absence, I yet hope to lay my bones.

"On this subject, however, we may talk more, when we meet next, which will be the 12th or 13th of next month, on my return from Lincoln's Inn. My chief business at present is, that I wish, this severe weather, to distribute three waggon-loads of coals to the poor inhabitants of Hodnet parish. * * * * Two of them, I think, should be distributed at Hodnet for that

and the neighbouring townships, and one at Marchamley. I wish you would manage the distribution of those at Hodnet, and I hope Mr. J. Powell, at my request, will undertake the same at Marchamley. I wish you also to consult Mr. Blunt. I forgot to mention it in my note to him, but hope he will excuse me.

* * * * * * *

"With sincere good wishes for the welfare of yourself and your family, I remain

"Your's very truly,
"REGINALD HEBER."

Soon after his arrival in town, where he went to keep the term at Lincoln's Inn, Mr. Reginald Heber called on an old and valued friend of his mother, who very warmly opposed his plan of going to India, and added, laughingly, "your's is the Quixotism of religion, and I almost believe you are going in search of the ten lost tribes of Israel." He replied, "perhaps your joke may have truth in it; at any rate, I think I can be of use among the natives; it will be my earnest endeavour, and I am very zealous in the cause."

To the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

Lincoln's Inn, January 30, 1823.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I feel much concerned that, owing to my accidental absence from town, your Lordship's truly kind and flattering letter has remained so long unanswered.

"The wish expressed by your Lordship, and by the Fellows of All Souls, to give my portrait a place in your hall, is an honour which very greatly surpasses my merits and my most sanguine expectations. But, however little reason I had to look for such a distinction, I cannot but feel highly gratified by any thing which gives me a chance of living longer in the recollections of those to whom I am so deeply indebted, and whose good opinion it will be among the first objects of my heart to retain and deserve."

"May I beg you to offer my best acknowledgments to the resident members of the society, and to believe me,

"My dear Lord, your and their much obliged and faithful humble servant,

"REGINALD HEBER."

"Will your Lordship excuse my mentioning that it is my wish to take my B.D. and D.D.'s degrees either the latter part of this term or the beginning of the next.

"I am half ashamed to expose my own ignorance on such a subject, and still more so to give you any trouble on it, but may I beg you to let me know what steps I should take for the furtherance of these objects, and how long the necessary exercises, &c. will detain me in Oxford? My stay in England is likely to be very short, and I have so much to do during that time that it is of consequence to me to take these steps, if I can, *en passant*."

To Mrs. R. Heber.

Lincoln's Inn, February 6, 1823.

"I am really almost worked off my legs. Except during my brother's election, I know not that I ever passed a more busy fortnight; but I trust my fatigues are nearly at an end. I have seen the Bishop of London and the Archbishop,—and have had a great deal of trouble in reading and commenting on documents relative to India. My kind friend, the Bishop of Oxford, is exerting himself to prevail on the university to give me my doctor's degree by diploma, which is the highest compliment they can pay; and the Warden and Fellows of All Souls have written a very handsome letter, desiring me to give them my picture to hang up in their hall. This is a very high and unusual compliment. Heber advises me to sit to Phillips, as being far less tedious and but little inferior to Lawrence. I have also a very obliging letter from the Vice Chancellor asking me to preach a farewell sermon at St. Mary's.

"I have just received your letter. A Christian establishment in India, unless I can convert them, is out of the question; except, perhaps, the cook, who may be a Portuguese Roman

Catholic, all will be Heathen; and out of so large an establishment as we must have there will be only two women!

"I hope to leave town Monday or Tuesday."

To the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

Lincoln's Inn, February 1823.

"My Dear Lord,

"Few honours, I might say none, could be conferred on me which I should feel more sensibly than the great and unmerited distinction which your Lordship informs me I am likely, at your suggestion, to obtain from the University of Oxford; and if any thing could add to the pleasure which such an honour confers on me, it is that I am indebted for it to your Lordship's friendship.

"The favour conferred is of consequence to me in another light besides that of the distinction which it confers, inasmuch as the sudden death of the archdeacon of Calcutta,* of which I have just received the news, may make it necessary to set off for India at much shorter notice than I anticipated.

"Believe me, my dear Lord,

"Your much obliged and faithful humble servant,

"Reginald Heber."

To the Rev. T. E. S. Hornby.

Lincoln's Inn, February 30, 1823.

"My Dear Hornby,

"I have, indeed, been culpably negligent in not answering your kind letters, and acknowledging the receipt of the beautiful verses which you sent me. I have been ever since Christmas, and indeed for some time before, in a state of constant employment and mental anxiety, which have left me little time to attend to the calls of friendship. The appointment which you speak of in your last letter, I, after some deliberation, declined,

* Dr. Loring, who accompanied Bishop Middleton to India, and died universally and deeply regretted, about two months after his diocesan.—Ed.

partly from my own unwillingness to leave England, and still more from the concurrent advice of all my friends.

"Subsequent reflection, however, led me to repent of having, from worldly feelings, declined a situation of so distinguished usefulness; and this regret was still more increased from finding that others, who had been sounded as to their inclinations towards it, had also shown reluctance. I was vain enough to think myself not unqualified to fill it advantageously, and I confess I began, at length to think it my duty, if it were again thrown in my way, to accept it. I, indeed, give up a good deal, both of present comfort, and as I am assured, of future possible expectation, and above all, I give up the enjoyment of English society, and a list of most kind friends, such as few men in my situation have enjoyed. Still I do not repent the line which I have taken. I trust I shall be useful where I am going, and I hope and believe I am actuated by a zeal for God's service. I yet trust to retain the good wishes, the correspondence, and the prayers of my friends, and, if I ever return to England, to find that they have not forgotten me. After all, I hope I am not enthusiastic in thinking that a clergyman is, like a soldier or a sailor, bound to go on any service, however remote or undesirable, where the course of his duty leads him; and my destiny (though there are some circumstances attending it, which make my heart ache) has many, very many, advantages in an extended sphere of professional activity, in the indulgence of literary curiosity, and, what to me has many charms, the opportunity of seeing nature in some of its wildest and most majestic features.

"Above all, I am so happy as to have a wife who entirely sympathizes and concurs with me, and who, I believe, however she shrunk from the idea at first, will now enter on our great expedition with as little reluctance as I shall.

"As soon as I return to Hodnet, whither I am going to resign my living, sell my furniture and take leave of my relations, you may expect to receive your packet again with some few notes.

"I expect to sail the beginning of May. I am unfortunately but too sensible that I have lost my character as a good correspondent; but, to receive a letter now and then from you, in a strange land, will be a great comfort to me, and I will promise,

as far as I can, to be more regular in my answers than I have been."

The university of Oxford presented Mr. Reginald Heber with his Doctor of Divinity's degree by diploma, in February, soon after which he returned to Hodnet, where the short time which remained previous to his final departure from the scenes of his youth, as well as of his mature years, and from the home he had himself formed, to which so many interests and affections had attached themselves as to render it almost an earthly paradise, was spent in making the necessary preparations for his long absence; in bidding farewell to the parish with which he had been united for nearly sixteen years by mutual good will and kind offices; in taking leave of his friends and neighbours, and in the yet more painful task of parting from an aged mother, who had cherished him from infancy with a love surpassing that of mothers, and from a sister with whom he had grown up, and with whose idea all his early happiness and early sorrow were associated. The memory of their excellent father, of the brother whose loss they had mourned together, and those thousand recollections of childhood to which we all, at times, look back with indescribable feelings of fond regret, all combined to embitter their separation. But He who called him from retirement to perform His bidding in a more conspicuous station, graciously supported him; and that hope of future happiness which, however distant the period assigned for its completion, has been mercifully implanted in every heart, and which, with all our experience of its fallacy, never entirely forsakes us, disarmed their parting of its acutest sting.

The inhabitants of Hodnet parish raised a subscription, limited to a guinea each, to present their loved pastor with a piece of plate, as a memorial of their respect and affection. The list of subscribers is gratifying and affecting, from containing a number of names, not alone of the wealthy, but of the very poorest class, who, when they gave their sixpences and twopences, gave a considerable portion of their little all. The plate has the following inscription.

TO REGINALD HEBER, D. D.

THIS PIECE OF PLATE IS PRESENTED, AS A PARTING GIFT,
BY HIS PARISHIONERS,
WITH THE HOPE THAT IT MAY REMIND HIM, IN A FAR DISTANT LAND,
OF THOSE, WHO WILL NEVER CEASE TO THINK OF HIS VIRTUES WITH AFFECTION,
AND OF HIS LOSS WITH REGRET.
A. D. 1823.

It was presented to him on the day in which he preached his farewell sermon. The editor can never forget the feelings with which she listened to her husband's parting address, and witnessed the sorrow of the crowded congregation. By the old and infirm it was looked upon as a last farewell; and even among those whose years might lead them to cherish the expectation of again beholding their pastor, there seemed to be a melancholy foreboding that they should indeed see his face no more on earth!

At Malpas, his birth-place, of which his father was for several years co-rector, Dr. Heber had many friends of whom he was anxious to take a personal leave. In its church he preached for the first time in his life on the 9th of March; the sermon he chose was that on "time and eternity," printed, as subsequently corrected, in the volume of "Sermons preached in England." During this visit he heard the story, of the truth of which he was afterwards assured, that an officer, having found a dying Indian exposed by the side of the Ganges, in conformity with the religion of the Hindoos, that he might expire within reach of its sacred waters, raised him up, and restored him to life by forcing nourishment down his throat. The man was a Brahmin, and having eaten from the hands of a European, though unconsciously, lost his caste, and was abandoned by his whole family. Being poor, he was forced either to starve, or to become a dependent on the officer for subsistence; the love of life prevailed; but every morning when he came to the camp to receive his rice, he cursed his benefactor in bitter terms, as the cause of his becoming an outcast from his family and sect. At the conclusion of this story, Dr. Heber exclaimed, "If I am permitted to rescue one such miserable creature from this wretched superstition, I shall think myself repaid for all I sacrifice."

On bidding farewell to his friends, he earnestly requested their prayers in his arduous undertaking. To Mrs. Dod, of Edge, whose family has been mentioned at the beginning of this memoir, he spoke at considerable length on his motives in accepting the Indian bishopric, and the objects which he hoped to accomplish; and, while he allowed that his decision had caused him a severe struggle, he added, he could never have known peace of mind again had he neglected the call of duty. Mrs. Dod replied, "Well Reginald, (for I never can call you 'my Lord,') God be with you wherever you go. You have done much good at home; and if you ever effect half what you purpose for India, your name will be venerated there to the end of time. I owe you much, and you will always have my prayers for your welfare."

They both felt how improbable it was that they should ever meet again on earth; but though they both looked in trust to a renewal of their friendship in a better world, they could not, from their disparity of years, anticipate that they would be summoned away almost at the same time. He bade her farewell, with the fervent wish that *if* they met on earth, they might be better fitted for heaven.

Almost the last business which Dr. Heber transacted before he left Shropshire, was settling a long standing account in which he had been charged as debtor to the amount of a hundred pounds; but it was believed by those who were best acquainted with the circumstances, that he was not bound either in law or probity to pay it. As he himself, however, did not feel certain on this point, he resolved to pay the money, observing to a friend who endeavoured to dissuade him, "How can I reasonably hope for a blessing on my undertaking, or how can I commence so long a voyage with a quiet conscience, if I leave even the shadow of a committed act of injustice behind?" About the same time an unknown person sent him a small sum of money through the hands of a clergyman in Shrewsbury, confessing that he had defrauded him of it, and stating that he could not endure to see him leave England for such objects, without relieving his own conscience by making restitution.

To Augustus W. Hare, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, March 3, 1823.

"* * * * I take abundant shame to myself for not having sooner answered one of the most gratifying letters which I have received for many months back; but you will, I am sure, impute my silence to any cause but indifference, either to the intelligence which you communicated, or to the friendship of the kind communicator. It was, indeed, a very great and most unexpected honour which the university conferred on me, and perhaps, the distinction of all others which, if it had been named to me, I should have most desired. * *

"Your cousin and I are here in the midst of packing and leave-taking, both unpleasant operations, and the latter a very painful one. I do not, indeed, feel so much parental emotion as many people profess, and as I myself partly expected I should, in bidding adieu to the stones and trees which I have planted. But, besides my mother and sister, and besides the other kind friends with whom I have passed so many hours here, there are, among my parishioners, many old persons whom I can never expect to meet again, and many, both old and young, who evidently lose me with regret, and testify their concern in a very natural and affecting manner. My comfort is, that Emily, who is as much regretted as I can be, and who has, if possible, more ties than I have to bind her to England, now that the first struggle is over, is not only resigned, but cheerful and courageous, and as resolute as I am to look only on the bright side of the prospect.

"I trust we may find you in Oxford as we go through next month. But as our departure is now definitively arranged for June, I hope that this will not be our last meeting in England.

"Believe me, dear Augustus,

"Ever your affectionate cousin,

"REGINALD HEBER."

To the Reverend G. Pearson.

March 6th, 1823.

"My Dear Pearson,

"Many thanks for your truly friendly and interesting letter, which, agreeable as it must be to be assured of your continued kind thoughts and kind wishes, has, added to others of the same kind which I have received, rather tended to increase the uneasiness I cannot help feeling in the act of leaving, for a length of time, and perhaps for life, so many and such kind friends as I am blessed with. It is, however, an encouragement of no common value, in the arduous and awful duties which lie before me, that I carry out with me such good wishes and such prayers. Heaven grant I may do nothing to forfeit the one or render the other ineffectual!

"I feel very sensibly your kindness in offering us a visit, and am much mortified that I cannot, under my present circumstances, avail myself of it. The truth is that our house is a scene of confusion and bustle, partly from the necessary evils of packing, and partly from the intrusions of auctioneers and others of the same description, cataloguing, valuing, and ticketing the furniture previous to our sale, which is to take place the beginning of April. You have been correctly informed as to our sailing in June. I had intended to do so by the first of May; but this would have landed us in Bengal at a remarkably unwholesome time of year; and another objection was urged by several of the East India Directors against the measure, since it is thought that the Bishop should make his first appearance, on arriving in India, at head quarters, while the May ships are to stop some time at Madras. In the mean time, I hope to make some little progress in Hindoostanee, and to get some difficulties arranged respecting the Eastern Church, which were a subject of great vexation and embarrassment to poor Bishop Middleton. And above all, having been permitted to read all his letters to the Board of Controul and to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, besides a very large collection addressed to his private friends, I shall go out with a more complete understanding

than I otherwise could have hoped for, of his wishes, and the line of ecclesiastical government he followed. Heaven grant I may be able to imitate his diligence, his zeal, his piety, and his admirable disinterestedness!

"I think with great pleasure of meeting you in London, and shall hope to hear from you, when you have leisure, during my banishment. Above all, do not let your brother return to Calcutta, or any other place where I may be, without letting me see him. The name of Pearson, whether in India or elsewhere, will always sound welcome in my ears. My wife begs to add her best regards and wishes to those of

"Dear Pearson,

"Ever your's most truly,

"REGINALD HEBER."

To the Right Honourable C. W. Williams Wynn.

Hodnet Rectory, March 11, 1823.

"MY DEAR WYNN,

"I have heard from the Bishop of London how kindly anxious you have been for my interests; but I have been unwilling to plague you with letters, even of thanks, well knowing how fully your time is occupied. The following circumstance, however, which has just been communicated to me, seems necessary to be known by my friends, since, even if it cannot be remedied, it should at least be borne in mind, when reckoning the present value of the Bishopric of Calcutta.

"Mr. Hodson (secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury) says, that Bishop Middleton was subjected to the payment of between two and three hundred pounds *ad valorem* duty on his letters patent, an onus not usually borne by bishops on their appointments. He remonstrated strongly, but was obliged to submit. Mr. Hodgson suggests, that, 'as he understands some legislative measure is to be resorted to respecting the terms of my appointment, a clause may be introduced exempting me from such a payment, the reasonableness of which would be admitted by all.' I, of course, am no judge as to the propriety or feasibility of this suggestion; nor do I know the nature of the

plea under which the Bishop of Calcutta is made to pay more than his brethren. I should, naturally, be glad and thankful to be exonerated; but if this cannot consistently be done, your kindness may possibly make this unforeseen and unusual expense an additional ground for those measures which you thought of originating in my favour.*

"What I am chiefly anxious for is that my travelling expenses may be paid, or a sufficient allowance made for them. Without such assistance, both Sir John Malcolm, Dr. Marsden, Mr. Parry, and all the other Indians whom I have consulted, agree, that the bishop's allowance is quite inadequate to enable him to do what he ought, in visiting the different stations in the interior. And, even were the present allowance less insufficient, I should dread being placed in a situation where there was to be a constant struggle between my duty and the interests of my wife and child.

"Bishop Middleton, it may be well to bear in mind, went out to India with the understanding that his travelling expenses were to be paid and a house provided for him; and both these advantages were, in fact, continued to him for the first two or three years, till a doubt arose as to the meaning of the act of parliament. So that all which would be required from parliament would be to empower the East India Company to give their own property away at their own discretion. Still, if it could be done without the *eclat* and difficulty of a legislative measure, it probably might be better.

"But all these circumstances are better known to you than they can be to me, and I well know how implicitly I may rely on your friendship to do for me all which can be done. And, even if no increased allowance should be attainable, you may rely on my exerting myself to the utmost of my power not to disgrace your recommendation; and that I will, so far as health allows, visit every Church in the diocese, though I should be compelled to go about in a single palanquin, and to stint my establishment at Calcutta to pay my travelling charges. The only question for the East India Company to determine, will

* The duty was not taken off

be, whether they will have me appear as a public functionary, or as a private, and not a wealthy individual. In either case I shall, I hope, be useful, and I am sure I shall be grateful to the friend who has so (kindly and perseveringly occupied himself in procuring for me more extensive means of usefulness.* God bless you dear Wynn! Believe me ever your obliged and affectionate friend,

"REGINALD HEBER."

To John Thornton, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, March 23, 1823.

"I feel much obliged by your friendly and interesting letters, as well as by the kind trouble which, I learn from Emily, you have taken respecting the piece of plate which my parishioners have subscribed for.

"It was, I believe, to have been kept a secret from me; but as a question arose, both respecting the form and the inscription, the honour intended me came to my knowledge a little sooner than it might otherwise have done. This mark of their good will, in times like the present, is very gratifying and affecting; and it is by no means the only one which I have met with. In my visits to different cottages, and in my conversations with the labourers in the fields, and by the road-side, the tears have been more than once or twice conjured up into my eyes by their honest expressions of good will and prayers for my welfare. I certainly did not expect to feel so painfully as I have done my approaching separation from my parish; nor was I at all aware of the degree of regard which these good and kind-hearted people appear to have entertained for me. God bless them! I cannot help feeling ashamed of an affection which I have so imperfectly deserved! There is a pretty stanza in one of Southey's poems, the truth of which has often struck me, but never, I think, so much as to day.

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* The East India Company agreed to allow the future Bishop of Calcutta a house, and a certain sum for his travelling expenses.—ED.

'I've *heard* of hearts unkind—kind deeds
With scorn or hate returning;
Alas!—the *gratitude* of man
Has oftener left me mourning!'

"We hope to be in Lincoln's Inn the end of April. I believe I mentioned before I left London that I had finally determined to take Mr. Parry's advice, and defer my voyage till June. I hope and trust I have not done wrong in this delay. I shall hope to get some points settled in favour of my powers of ordaining, &c. which, had I sailed sooner, I hardly could have done; and I shall have a fair prospect of arriving with my wife and child at Calcutta, at a more favourable season than would have been the case had we sailed by the earlier ships. We shall also have more time to give to our preparatory studies, and to taking leave of our friends in London and its neighbourhood."

On the 22d of April, Dr. Heber finally took leave of Shropshire; from a range of high grounds near Newport, he turned back to catch a last view of his beloved Hodnet; and here the feelings which he had hitherto suppressed in tenderness to others, burst forth unrestrained, and he uttered the words which have proved prophetic, that he "should return to it no more!"

At Oxford, where he passed two or three days with his friend Mr. Otter, he was greeted with affectionate interest by his acquaintance who happened to be there, and by others who had come from a distance on hearing of his intended visit, to bid him God speed. To the members of his own college of All Souls, he expressed his sense of the high honour which this society had conferred upon him, in requesting him to sit for his portrait, to be placed among those of the distinguished persons which adorn the walls of their hall.

The six weeks between Dr. Heber's arrival in London, and the moment of sailing, were occupied in obtaining information relative to his new duties, in attending the meetings of the reli-

gious societies connected with India, and in making the necessary preparations for his voyage. So much was he engrossed by these duties and occupations, that he could give but little time to the society of those dear and valued friends, the parting from whom was now the severest pang he had to endure. His last sermon in Lincoln's Inn Chapel, "on the Atonement," was preached on the 18th of May. The sermon has since been printed;* and this circumstance gives an additional interest to the following letter, written many years after by Sir Thomas Dyke Acland to the editor.

To Mrs. R. Heber.

March 11, 1830

"My Dear Mrs. Heber,

"I came to town to hear the Bishop preach his last sermon at Lincoln's Inn; his appointment to the See of Calcutta being then lately known. I need not say to you what must have been the impression made by that sermon, on the many who had long known and loved him; but no sympathy of others gave me such a heartfelt thrill of satisfaction, as one earnest exclamation from the late Mr. Joseph Butterworth, whom I met in the square after quitting the Chapel, and who could only answer to my inquiries, made certainly with some anxiety, how he had been pleased, 'Oh Sir, thank God for that man! Thank God for that man!' Considering Mr. Butterworth's station and influence among the Wesleyan Methodists, and almost the whole body of Indian missionaries not directly connected with the establishment, I felt at once all the value of such an impression upon his mind, both as to the disposition with which the bishop would be met by these bodies on his arrival in India, and the effect which it was clear his intercourse with them would produce. Besides all this, Mr. Butterworth was really a good man and sincere Christian; and to the sympathy of such, either towards myself or my excellent friend, I could not feel indifferent; you will, therefore, not be surprised that I have treasured the recollection of that greeting up to this day with no common interest, and, perhaps, given the incident a

* Heber's Sermons in England, p. 375.

little more weight than it deserves. And yet I cannot think that I was mistaken in my anticipation of the result. The common feeling which the Sermon of that day diffused through an audience composed of persons of various habits and principles, was comparatively but a light indication of the powerful and salutary influence by which the Bishop conciliated to many good purposes, the active and hearty good will, with the united affections, of the immense, and various, and sometimes conflicting masses, upon which it was exercised, during his whole course in India. I am quite ashamed of having been so negligent in sending you this little story, but must the more beg your kind indulgence to

"Your very sincere and obliged,

"THOS. DYKE ACLAND."

To the Rev. J. J. Blunt.

Lincoln's Inn, May 26, 1823.

"MY DEAR BLUNT,

"I herewith send you my sermon, which, is, as you will easily perceive, pretty nearly as I preached it, as I have really had no time for alteration or improvement.* I feel but too sensibly that it is not likely to do me much credit in the world; but if it serves to show my regard and respect for my late parishioners, I shall be satisfied. I have added to it a title-page, dedication, and preface. I am ashamed to trouble you with the correction of the press, but am so busy that you will, I am sure, excuse me.

"My consecration is fixed for next Sunday, and, as the time draws near, I feel its awfulness very strongly, far more, I think, than the parting which is to follow a fortnight after. * * I could wish for the prayers of my old congregation, but know not well how to express the wish in conformity with custom or without seeming to court notoriety. Perhaps, if you will have the goodness to read next Sunday the collect usually said in the Ember weeks for those about to enter into holy orders, some of my kind friends will make the application to *me*. Before our voyage, when I should also gladly have the prayers of the

* The Farewell Sermon at Hodnet.

Church, there can be nothing unusual in asking for them; and I request you will be kind enough to say on the 15th of June, that 'The Bishop of Calcutta and his family, being about to sail for India, request the prayers of the congregation.' Mrs. R. Heber unites in best regards; she, I rejoice to say, continues tolerably well. * * I enclose a letter to ———, which I will thank you to give to him.

"Believe me, dear Blunt,

"Ever your sincere friend,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To ———.

Lincoln's Inn, May 26, 1823.

"MY WORTHY FRIEND,

"I am about to address you on a subject which has long weighed much on my mind, and which I have often wished to mention. Nobody is more convinced than I am of your good heart, your kindness to your family, your labourers, and the poor, your strict honesty and the other good qualities for which you are known and respected in the neighbourhood. Yet there is one point which I would fain see altered in you, and which I cannot help noticing as, perhaps, the last mark of my good wishes for you which I shall ever have in my power to show, now that I am leaving England for a far distant land, and have ceased to be rector of Hodnet. You must be aware I mean your fondness for liquor. Why should you let this one sin get the better of you, and rob your good qualities and your good principles of their reward? You as yet are young and healthy, and therefore cannot say you need drink to keep you in good spirits,—but you yourself well know that neither health nor cheerfulness can long continue to be the portion of a drunkard. Even so far as this world is concerned, how necessary is it that a man should be sober in order that he may prosper. But, when we think on the other world, can we help recollecting that the drunkard is wasting not only his body and his goods, but his immortal soul? I need hardly remind you how often and how earnestly God has forbidden the practice in Scripture. Of all strong drink we find

it observed by Solomon, Prov. xxiii. 32. that 'at the last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder.' 'Woe unto them,' saith Isaiah, chap. v. ver. 22, 'that are men of strength to mingle strong drink.' 'Woe,' he says again chap. xxviii. ver. 1 'woe to the crown of pride, to the drunkards of Ephraim.' All the other prophets are full of the same declarations, and the texts in the New Testament are still more awful. 'If that servant,' saith our Lord, 'begin to say in his heart, my Lord delayeth his coming, and begins to beat the men servants and maids and to eat and *drink* and be *drunken*, the Lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour when he is not aware, and will cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the unbelievers.' 'Take heed,' He says, in another place, 'lest your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and *drunkenness*, and so that day take you unawares.' In the same manner St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, bids us 'walk honestly as in the day, not in rioting and *drunkenness*, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying,' where you see he puts *drunkenness* down in the same list of crimes with whoredom and quarrelling, and puts it first of the three because, indeed, it generally leads to the other two. Thus also we find in Gal. chap. v. ver. 19, 20, 21, drunkenness classed on the same footing with the very first sins, and those most hateful to God, such as idolatry, and witchcraft, and murder. These things will prove to you that a fondness for strong drink is no trifling matter; that it is a crime marked with the Almighty's heaviest displeasure, and for which, no doubt, a very grievous punishment is in store in another world. Do not suppose, my good friend, that I name these things to you out of disrespect or a desire to give you pain; we have long been neighbours, and you have been a kind and friendly neighbour to me. I sincerely esteem you and wish you well. But it is because I esteem you and wish you well that I send you this long letter; and I now earnestly desire to call upon you as with a voice from the dead, to the number of whom, in my long and perilous voyage, I may perhaps be added, to desire you to lay these things to heart, to fly from temptation, and to remember that your health and prosperity, your life and immortal soul are in danger if you do not

fly from the sin which does most easily beset you! God bless you and guide you! May He turn your heart to see the things which belong to your peace, and give you in this world, grace and happiness, and in the world to come, everlasting glory!

"My best wishes are with you! Believe me ever your sincere friend,

"REGINALD HEBER."

On the 1st of June Dr. Heber was consecrated at Lambeth, and about the same time he resigned the rectory of Hodnet, which he had only retained thus long in compliance with his brother's wishes. The editor might not, perhaps, have mentioned this, had she not heard a rumour that an arrangement had been made, by which her husband was to receive a portion of the profits of the living during his residence in India. The only agreement on the subject was a promise made by Mr. Heber, the patron of the living, that should his brother be obliged to return home on account of his health before he became entitled to his pension, and have no other preferment, he would ensure his taking possession of his former cure.

The last time the bishop preached in England, was at St. Paul's, on the 8th of June, before the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. A few days after he was much gratified by receiving a note from the late Mr. Blades, of Ludgate Hill, expressing his admiration of the sermon, as well as the deep veneration and respect in which he held his character, and the motives which induced his acceptance of the Indian Bishopric, accompanied by a handsome present of glass, bearing on it the Bishop's initials and the mitre.

On the 13th he received the valedictory address of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, delivered by the Bishop of Bristol. He was accompanied to Bartlett's Buildings by Sir Robert Harry Inglis. On their way, Sir Robert, to whom the editor is indebted for the fact, asked him to let him see his reply, assuming that, as at other places, on occasions of form and importance, the speech and the answer would alike be read by the respective prelates." The Bishop told him that he had in-

deed received, by Bishop Kaye's courtesy, a copy of the intended address, but that he had not written his reply, and should trust to the feelings of the moment to supply it. "I was, therefore," Sir Robert adds, "equally delighted and surprised to hear him speak, though with feelings justly and naturally excited, with a command of language, and with a fulness and freedom of thought, and at the same time a caution which became one addressing such a society at such a time, when every word would be watched in India as well as in England. We shall long remember the sensation which he produced, when he declared that his last hope would be to be the chief Missionary of the Society in the east; and the emotion with which we all knelt down at the close; sorrowing most of all that we should see his face no more."

To the Rev. T. E. S. Hornby.

Lincoln's Inn, June 15, 1823.

"My Dear Friend,

"I *have* indeed been very negligent. But if you only knew how much I have been worried you would excuse me. It has been only a small part of my late engagements that I have had, since my arrival in London, to write a sermon to be preached at the meeting of the charity children in St. Paul's, and afterwards to be printed, though this has operated as a heavy load of anxiety on my spirits, and swallowed up much time which I might have given to those excellent friends to whom I have now to bid adieu. But between the India House, Lambeth, the Board of Controul, and the different Societies for Propagating the Gospel, my days have been quite engrossed; and I have gone to bed for the last month as much tired as if I had been thrashing in a barn. Now, though I have not *finished* all I ought to have done, I have done all which can be done, and seize the first opportunity of bidding you farewell. We embark to-morrow. May God bless, keep, and prosper you, my dear Hornby! may He give you as much happiness in this world as He sees to be good for your soul! and if it be His will to bring me back

again to my native country, may I find you in improved health, with the same cheerfulness and trust in Him, and the same feelings of kindness towards myself, for which I am now so much indebted to you.*

"I am very well, my wife is thin and harassed, at which I do not wonder.

"I have got you verses safe in my writing desk; to read them, and make, perhaps, some remarks on them, will be a very interesting employment during my passage. You may depend on hearing from me soon after my arrival in India, if it pleases God to carry me thither.

"Believe me, with sincere attachment,

"My dear Hornby,

"Ever your affectionate friend,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To Mrs. Heber.

Lincoln's Inn, June 15, 1823.

"MY DEAREST MOTHER,

"* * * We have now nearly finished our packing, and I have quite got through my preachings, &c. Dear Emily is, of course, low at leaving her friends, but she is well. Our little darling is quite well again, and I am in as good health and spirits as I can expect to be. I think and hope I am going on God's service. I am not conscious of any unworthy or secular ends; and I hope for His blessing and protection both for myself and for those dear persons who accompany me, and whom I leave behind.

"God Almighty bless and prosper you, my beloved mother. May He comfort and support your age, and teach you to seek always for comfort, where it may be found, in His health and salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord!

"Bless you dear, dear Mary—you and your worthy husband.† May He make you happy in your children and in each other, in time and in eternity!

* Mr. Hornby died in March, 1825.—ED.

† The Rev. Charles Cowper Cholmondely, now rector of Hodnet.—ED.

"I know we have all your prayers as you have ours. Believe me that we shall be, I hope, useful, and if useful, happy where we are going; and we trust in God's good providence for bringing us again together in peace, when a few short years are ended, in this world if He sees it good for us;—if not, yet in that world where there shall be no parting nor sorrow any more, but God shall wipe away all tears from all eyes, and we shall rejoin our dear father and the precious babe whom God has called to himself before us!"

CHAPTER XXII.

The bishop embarks for India—Divine service on board—Connexion of the Eastern languages with those of the north of Europe—Daniel Abdullah—Landing at Calcutta—Accumulation of ecclesiastical business—Archdeacon of Bombay and Mr. Davies—Bishop Middleton's regulations for preaching—Letter to Mr. Davies. 1823.

On the 16th of June, 1823, the bishop with his family sailed for India, "that land of disappointment, and sorrow, and death!" He made several sketches of the southern coast in passing, under one of which he wrote the following quotation.

> "And we must have danger, and fever, and pain,
> Ere we look on the white rocks of Albion again."

To E. D. Davenport, Esq.

At Sea, July 9, 1823. *Lat.* 20° 57′ *Lon.* 24° 32′.

"My Dear Davenport,

"Your kind note and present* reached me at a moment when I had not leisure to thank you for either as they deserved; but I hope you will believe me when I say that I was deeply and sincerely sensible of the regard which they expressed, and of the loss which I have incurred in foregoing the enjoyment of your conversation and confidence. They were circumstances and considerations of this kind which have, in fact, made up the main bitterness of my leaving England. To the mere *material home*, to which, abstracted from all other circumstances, many of my acquaintance profess to feel intense attachment, I do not think I ever affixed any very great value. I have always enjoyed

* Philippe de Comines.

England and Hodnet as much, to all appearance, as my neighbours; yet I never contemplated with any dismay the prospect of leaving, for a good reason, both the one and the other; nor, could I have taken my friends with me, should I have regarded the removal as worthy of a tear. At present, alas, I cannot help feeling, and sometimes very sorrowfully, how much I am, hereafter, to depend on myself, my own resources, and my own judgment; how far I am removed from those whose partial friendship excused my faults, and whose candid judgment might correct them; and that, with a more than usual fondness for society, I have left behind me such a society, both in intellect, acquirement, urbanity, and regard to myself, as I cannot, by any possibility, hope to meet with elsewhere. Regret, however, is so obviously useless, that, were I of a less sanguine temper than I believe myself to be, I should, I hope, be too wise to indulge in it. I counted the cost of my undertaking before I made up my mind, and I, happily, am even better able than I expected, to fix my attention on ulterior objects, and to look on the past as that of which the best and happiest circumstances may yet be one day renewed; and, friendship excepted, I have as yet heard of nothing to make me regret my secession to India. My fellow voyagers, of whom the senior part have been many years there, all speak of it with an attachment which, though at my age I cannot hope to acquire it in the same degree, yet is enough to convince me that I need not be unhappy there. The more I hear, the more I see reason to believe that, with diligence and moderation, I may be extensively useful; and that, with the precautions commonly in use, not only my own health, but those of my wife and child may fare almost as well as in England. Nor is it a trifle to one who is to pass so much of his future life at sea, to find that, so far as the experience of a three weeks' voyage reaches, with frequent rough weather and a rapid change of climate, I am neither liable to the sickness nor the ennui to which I looked forward, as the almost necessary accompaniments of my present situation.

" * * * Between my Hindoostanee and Persian lessons, the psalms and chapters which I read to my wife, and the different objects of novelty and curiosity which

are offered by a ship and a tropical sea, I have not near leisure enough for general reading, or for keeping the sort of journal which I once intended to do. * * *

* * * * * * * *

"We have had, on the whole, a fair average voyage, and have reason to be much satisfied, both with our captain, our fellow passengers, and the accommodations of the vessel.

"We took leave of the high ground near Plymouth on the 19th of last month, and since then have seen no land, except a distant view of Madeira on the 3d instant. This was a little tantalizing, and many of the party were urgent with Captain Manning to stop there, and with me to press him to do so. Some of the wine merchants in London, connected with the island, had, in fact, made it their request that I should consecrate a church, which has been lately erected for the use of the factory. This, however, I soon found would, if it were to be done with any thing like the proper solemnity, take up several days of preparation. I had no good reason to believe that the Portuguese clergy would either approve or admit of any such interference on the part of a Protestant bishop; and, above all, I found our Palinurus extremely unwilling, unless a case of real necessity or duty were made out, to risk the loss of his favourable wind, or incur the blame of idle delay from his employers. I therefore, declined all interference of the kind, and in fact fully agreed with him in his views. Our only hope of a halting place during the voyage, is now the Isle of France, and even there, unless our water should fail, or some other calamity should befall us, there seems no intention of staying. I write, however, this and some other letters, in the chance of meeting a homeward-bound vessel, and under the apprehension, should such a one appear, of not having my despatches ready in time. From Calcutta I need not say I will write again, or that I trust, ere I shall have been long there, to receive a letter from you.

"God bless you, my dear Davenport!

"Believe me ever your affectionate friend,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

At Sea, Aug. 15. *Lat.* 35° *S. Lon.* 2° *E.*
All well.

To R. J. Wilmot Horton, Esq.

July 9, 1823, *at sea, lat.* 20° 57′. *long.* 24° 32′.

"My Dear Wilmot,

"There is a pretty proverb in the language (the Persian) which I am now beginning to study, 'A letter is half a meeting;' and though I know not how long a time may elapse before these lines meet your eye, I feel, while I am writing them, though with the tropic between us, some little return of the pleasure which I have felt in our old walks by the Dane and the Trent, and what I would gladly think was an anticipation of those which I may still hope for with you—perhaps by the Trent again. * * * Of my own choice it is rather too early in the day to determine whether I am to repent or no. By all which I hear from my shipmates I anticipate no reason for doing so. They all, so many of them as have been in India, are fond of it; and though I can already perceive that I am to find in Calcutta a reasonable allowance of those civic feuds and vestry broils to which all provincial capitals are liable, and which seem there to vent themselves through the pages of the newspapers, I cannot give up the hope of being able to steer my course through these jarring elements without any great damage to my own temper or my own tranquillity.

"Of the sea, on which so large a part of my future life must be passed (more particularly if I carry my Australasian visitations into effect) I have already some means of forming an opinion, and, so far as I am myself concerned, we seem likely to suit each other perfectly. Though we have had a good deal of contrary weather, and our full allowance of the noble game of pitch and toss, I have not been unwell even for an hour; and between the various occupations of reading, writing, walking the quarter-deck, watching the flying fish, and learning Hindoostanee and Persian, I have not as yet felt any of that vacuity of time of which I was most apprehensive, and of which others have complained as the worst calamity of a long sea-voyage. The only want I feel is of exercise,—a serious one, and which I know not how to remedy; merely pacing the deck is nothing. I cannot (*salvâ gravitate*) amuse myself with running up and

down the shrouds as the young cadets do ;—and though I have a most majestic and Patagonian pair of dumb bells, (after the manner of Bengal,) I cannot use them in my cabin without endangering my wife and child, and have not yet reconciled myself to exhibiting them on deck, or among the hen coops. My resource, I apprehend, must be to live more sparingly in proportion to my necessary inactivity ; but, as my northern appetite still subsists in full vigour, even this will be by no means an agreeable remedy ; while it is one of which my shipmates seem to have no notion. Most of them every morning begin at half-past eight with a breakfast of cold ham, mutton chops, or broiled herrings ; renew the war at twelve with biscuit, cheese and beer, dine at three in a very substantial manner, tea it and toast it at six, and conclude the day at nine with a fresh lading of biscuit and cheese, and a good tumbler of grog or wine and water. The ladies, indeed, do not leave their cabins before dinner time, and are only present in the cuddy at dinner and in the evening. Yet I hear the clash of knives and forks going on with great spirit behind the bulk-heads ; and have every reason to believe that the weaker sex finds at least as much need of a full and generous diet as the colonels, majors, and captains of sea and land. And this (I am assured by many persons) is the custom of India, where 'to eat little and often' is recommended by the best physicians. The 'often' they have certainly hit off to a nicety. Of the 'little' I will only say that if this be the abstinence of the East, it is no matter of wonder with me that some folks leave their livers there.

"Though now decidedly within the tropics, and with the sun to the northward of us, we have no heat to complain of ; and, though most people on board have assumed linen or camlet clothes, it has been, I think, as much from fashion as necessity. Till within these few days, indeed, the weather has been decidedly cold ; and, while in the latitude of Lisbon and Gibraltar, the captain more than once complained that, if it had not been for the 'blue water,' he might still have fancied himself amidst the cold and 'dirty' weather of the channel or the German Sea. Of this blue water I had heard much, and it certainly does not fall short of my expectation. In bright weather it is, as compared

with our green sea, richly and strikingly beautiful, and the flakes of foam streak it like *lapis lazuli* inlaid with silver. Even in storms it has a warmer and richer tint than that of the waves which chased us from Ilbree island towards Parkgate, and enables me to understand more fully than I ever did before the 'wine faced sea' οινοπα ποντον of Homer. For the rest I have seen dolphins, flying fishes, and a grampus; a whale and a shark have paid the ship a visit, but I was not then on deck. The flying fish are, as yet, very small; and the flocks in which they skim along the surface of the waves give them so much the appearance of water wagtails, that a repeated and attentive view is required to convince a stranger of their actual fishhood.

"After all we did not stop at Madeira. Captain Manning was only authorized, he said, to do so if some real necessity were made out and as we had a fine wind at the time, it would have been unwise to lose it by a delay which must have been too short to see much of the island. I availed myself, however, of the letter which you kindly procured for me to the consul, so far as to consign to his charge some letters which we had an opportunity of sending on shore by a brig bound for Funchal. I am called to my Hindoostance lecture, in which Emily has for some days back been sufficiently recovered to join. We are fortunate in having an excellent instructer in one of our fellow-passengers, the same young cadet, Macgeorge, whom Dr. Gilchrist recommended to us in London. The whole vessel is, indeed, a scene of study all morning. Besides our young friend, there is a native sailor on board who professes himself, though in reduced circumstances, a regular moonshee, and gives lectures to several of the cadets and writers; while one of these last is himself a prize-fighter from Hertford, and has volunteered to teach the most ornate style of 'Taleek' writing to as many as shall be disposed to receive his instructions. And when I add that the cuddy table is every forenoon covered with logarithms, sextants, &c., you will see that I have, at least, some chance of becoming wiser from my present expedition.

"Ever your obliged and affectionate

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To the Rev. J. J. Blunt.

H. C. S. Grenville. N. Lat. 5° 33′ *Long. W.* 15° 15′.
July 22, 1823.

"My Dear Blunt,

"While sending a packet home, I cannot refrain from troubling you with a few lines to thank you for your last kind and friendly letter, and for the pains which you have taken in correcting the press of my farewell sermon. Since I have been on board, I have often, *very often* thought of Hodnet and its neighbourhood; and on Sundays, the recollection has been still more forcibly brought to my mind by the use which, in those days, I have made of my old sermons, slightly altered, and by the contrast of the circumstances under which I now preach them, with the venerable walls, and friendly and well-known faces which surrounded me when I last turned over the same leaves. Yet, here also I have an attentive audience; the exhibition is impressive and interesting, and the opportunities of doing good considerable. The crew are very orderly, and the passengers, in general, sufficiently well-disposed to acquiesce in the different arrangements which I have suggested for weekly and daily prayers, while the number of persons on board is, I believe, full a hundred and sixty.

"The regularity of our life on shipboard, now that I am accustomed to the hours, and know how to make the most of them, is very favourable for study; and in my attempt to master Hindoostanee and Persian, I have sufficient occupation for all the time which I have at command. My wife is my fellow student, though not my only one. Two of the young men on board, whose progress is not much greater than ours, have shown themselves glad to read with us; and there are two others, distinguished proficients in the languages of the East, of whom the one acts as our regular tutor, and the other has undertaken to become our writing-master. With these advantages, I *ought* to make progress, and some years ago, I am convinced, I should have made rapid way. At forty, however, and with many other cares on the mind, I find it a harder task to learn a new language, than I found it in the days of my French, German, and Italian; and

the difficulty is increased by the circumstance that all my previous knowledge is of little or no advantage to me in the pursuit of my present object. Yet, even in these remote tongues, there are several circumstances of interest and curiosity, as establishing, beyond all doubt, the original connection of the languages of India, Persia, and Northern Europe, and the complete diversity of all from the Hebrew and other Semitic languages. Those who fancy the Persian and Indians to have been derived from Elam, the son of *Shem,* or from any body but *Japheth*, the first-born of Noah, and father of Gomer, Mesdeck and Tubal, have, I am convinced, paid no attention to the languages either of Persia, Russia, or Scandinavia. I have long had this suspicion, and am not sorry to find it confirmed by even the grammar of my new studies. As to the literary treasures, by which my labours are to be rewarded, I as yet, of course, can say next to nothing. In the Hindoostanee, indeed, I have reason to believe, except a few songs and stories, there is no literature. Of the former, I have met with some really very pretty, and distinguished by a merit which I did not expect to find in the East, that of simplicity. What learning India possesses is in the Sanscrit only; and to encounter this, which is strictly a dead language, and perhaps the hardest in the world, I have at present not the least inclination. Of the beauties of Persian poetry, all my fellow voyagers who have tried it are enamoured. The very few specimens which they have been, as yet, able to make me understand, certainly do not do discredit to their judgment; and here, as well as in the Hindoostanee, I find more simplicity than I expected. But of all these points, ere many months are over, I hope to be a tolerable judge; and if in a year or two I do not know them both, at least as well as I do French and German, the fault I trust will be in my capacity, not in my diligence. Adieu, my dear Blunt. Let me sometimes have the pleasure of hearing from you. Present my best compliments to your father, and remember me most kindly to any of my parishioners who may inquire after me

"Ever your sincere friend,
"Reginald Calcutta."

The general details of the bishop's voyage are already before the world; and the editor will, therefore, merely relate, in his own words, the circumstances which led to his taking into his service Daniel Abdullah, who subsequently accompanied him on his first visitation.

"I have been engaged in hearing the claims of a native of India on board the vessel, returning to his own country, in a very destitute condition, by order of the Directors. He was once a servant to Sir Gore Ouseley, and pretends to have been a non commissioned officer in the Company's service, and to have left it for Sir Gore Ouseley's service; afterwards, having become a Christian and received baptism in London, to have been sent out to India again as a catechist, to have been neglected and ill-treated, and to have returned to England in despair, as finding himself despised equally by Mahomedans and Christians. He has a fair character from Sir Gore Ouseley for his conduct, dated ten years ago, but no other or later vouchers; is now very ragged, dirty, and wretched, and would have been still more so, but for the kindness of some of the passengers, who have given him clothes and money. I verily believe that the outline of his story is correct, though I expect to find that he has, latterly, behaved ill. It is my purpose, however, to inquire about him, and, if I can, to befriend him. Though furiously prejudiced against him, I know not why, ——— allows that the condition of a converted native is, too often, a very trying one; shunned by his own countrymen, and discountenanced and distrusted by the Europeans; while many of them are disposed to fling themselves entirely on the charity of their converters, and expect, without doing any thing for themselves, that they who have baptized should keep them. Such may be the character of Daniel Abdullah. He is, however, now a legitimate object of compassion. I will fairly own that his present destitute condition is likely, with any person, who only hears his side of the story, to throw great disgrace on the Christians of India, both for rashness in receiving him so easily as a convert, and for cruelty in so easily abandoning him to famine and nakedness. He speaks a little English and writes it very tolerably, and is evidently more than

usually versed in the doctrines and expressions of the New Testament."*

The result of the bishop's inquiries proved the estimate he had formed of this man's character, to be in a great degree, correct, but his abject misery pleaded so strongly in his behalf, that he resolved on taking him into his service, and made him his *jemautdar*, or head of the *peons*, a place of importance, but not of much trust. Abdullah was, undoubtedly, grateful for the kindness shown him; but his irreclaimable habits of intoxication, after many broken promises of amendment, obliged the bishop to dismiss him from his service, soon after his return to Calcutta from the first visitation. He would not, however, leave him a second time to want, but before he sailed for Madras, in 1826, he saw him established in a situation in Calcutta, where he would be too well watched to fall easily again into the same fault.

On his landing in India, the bishop wrote the following prayer:

"Accept, Oh blessed Lord, my hearty thanks for the protection which Thou hast vouchsafed to me and mine during a long and dangerous voyage, and through many strange and unwholesome climates. Extend to us, I beseech Thee, Thy fatherly protection and love in the land where we now dwell, and among the perils to which we are now liable. Give us health, strength, and peace of mind; give us friends in a strange land, and favour in the eyes of those around us; give us so much of this world's good as Thou knowest to be good for us; and be pleased to give us grace to love Thee truly, and constantly to praise and

* Abdullah's account of himself, at a later period was, that his father was a native of Câbul, that he had served under Asuf ud Dowlah, and had been appointed by him to a small post in the revenue; that his collectorship had been ruined by the invasion of Scindiah, and that his father died of grief. His mother and brothers lived at Patna, and had been more fortunate than himself: "But," he added, "they shall never know all I have suffered, or how few years of quiet life I have had during the forty-four I have lived."

bless Thee, through Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour. *Amen.*"

The Bishop found a much greater accumulation of ecclesiastical business awaiting his arrival than he had expected; it was such as almost to alarm him, not only by its extent, but by the importance of the questions immediately brought for his decision, and which his complete ignorance of the circumstances of that vast diocese rendered still more perplexing. The two chaplains appointed by the Bengal government, on the death of Archdeacon Loring, to perform the episcopal duties, so far as they lawfully could, during the vacancy occasioned by Bishop Middleton's death, had, from misunderstanding the powers conferred on the bishops of Calcutta in the letters patent, declined acting on many points on which they might have legally decided and which required immediate attention. The consequence was, that the chief affairs of the diocese had been, for some months prior to Bishop Heber's arrival, nearly suspended; and thus, besides many references and papers which were necessarily left for his decision, a greater pressure of business was unfortunately occasioned, at a moment when he required much leisure to consider the various difficulties of his situation, and the peculiar circumstances under which he was placed. Among these references was one relative to a right claimed by Mr. Davies, the senior chaplain on the Bombay establishment, of excluding the archdeacon from the presidency pulpit, except on those days which had been expressly named by Bishop Middleton for his preaching.

It is necessary to mention, for the sake of perspicuity, that Bishop Middleton had appointed the several Sundays and festivals on which he himself proposed to preach annually in the cathedral, during his residence in Calcutta; and had also fixed on others for the preaching of the three archdeacons at their respective presidencies, amounting to seven in the course of the year, with the additional clause, that they might "perform such further duty as they might think proper."

These regulations were published at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. At Madras only had they hitherto met with opposi-

tion; but as this happened during Bishop Middleton's life, the question was soon set at rest, in a clear and able letter addressed by him to the chaplains of that presidency, in which the archdeacon's right to the occasional occupation of their pulpit on other days besides those mentioned in the regulations, was distinctly and forcibly confirmed: Bishop Middleton adding also his opinion, that if an archdeacon were to confine himself to preaching only on his appointed turns, he would hardly appear to be actuated by that earnestness and zeal, which ought to be expected from his profession and station. Dr. Barnes, the archdeacon of Bombay, had, in pursuance of these rules, preached on the days appointed, when he was residing in the island; and also, in general, about every third or fourth Sunday between Whit-Sunday and the first Sunday in Advent, without the then senior chaplain calling in question the regulation by which he thought it his duty to do so. When Mr. Davies succeeded to the seniority in 1822, he was officially informed of these regulations, to which he then made no objections. But, early in the following year, when the archdeacon announced his intention of preaching at St. Thomas's Church every third Sunday, as usual, Mr. Davies refused his concurrence to the arrangement, alleging that, "so long as God granted him health, he should be guilty of an awful breach of the duties of the ministry" by allowing the archdeacon to participate in them.

This refusal caused a very unpleasant discussion; and the business was referred by Mr. Davies to the ecclesiastical commissioners in Calcutta, not only without the knowledge of the archdeacon, but in opposition to his declared wishes, as he did not consider that they were possessed of competent authority to decide on a question involving the validity of the bishop's regulations. They, with great propriety, declined giving an official opinion on a case thus brought before them, observing, that as the successor in the bishopric was soon expected to arrive, the question should be submitted to his decision. What that decision was, will appear from the following letters; and the editor has much satisfaction in stating that the remonstrance addressed to Mr. Davies was followed by immediate submission to the will of his diocesan.

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Fort William, November 12, 1823.

"Dear Mr. Archdeacon,

"I have taken considerable pains, since my arrival in this place, and the receipt of your very interesting and important letter, to ascertain the extent of a bishop's powers in making regulations for the performance of divine service, and preaching in the churches of his diocese. It is on this, as I apprehend, and this only, that your right must depend to an occasional use of Mr. Davies's pulpit, inasmuch as, though there is considerable presumption, there is no positive proof that it ever has been the custom in England for archdeacons to preach, except in their own cures, or in the cathedral churches to which they belong, and of which they are actually members and joint proprietors. And it appears to me that a bishop may clearly, in his purely spiritual capacity, make such regulations; but that the spiritual arms, by which only in India he can enforce them, are so inefficient and unwieldy, as to make it desirable to resort to them with great caution, and only in the last extremity. I have, therefore, sent to Mr. Davies the letter of which I now enclose a copy, in which, as you will observe, I have endeavoured to rest his obedience on his ordination oath, and to urge that obedience on him, in the first instance, as a point of conscience; at the same time, that I have conceded the possibility of remodelling Bishop Middleton's regulations in a manner more convenient to all parties.

"Those regulations, indeed, seem to me very susceptible of improvement. It is, I am sure, bad policy to tie either bishop or archdeacon to preach, year after year, on the same seven principal days, since it must compel them, whether sick or well, idle or busy, to compose so many fresh sermons every year, on doctrinal, and generally on controversial topics. And, though nothing can be more conciliating or gentlemanly than the manner in which you appear to have executed the right, yet I can conceive that some longer notice of an archdeacon's in-

tention to preach may be desirable to a chaplain, than that which Bishop Middleton appears to have thought sufficient.

"What I would myself suggest is, either (what is the practice in the cathedral of St. Asaph) that the archdeacon, which office is there held by the bishop, should preach, when at home, the first Sunday of every month; or, what perhaps would be better still, that he should (as is the case with the deans in many cathedrals) choose, at the beginning of the year, any twelve or fourteen Sundays for his own appearance in the pulpit. In neither case would he be excluded from preaching on week-days as often as he might think fit to establish weekly lectures. All this is, however, for future consideration; and I only mention it now, both that I may have the benefit of your advice on the subject, as well as that I may explain some passages in my letter to Mr. Davies.

"I have also, by the advice of our excellent friends, Sir Anthony Buller and Mr. Bailey, written to Mr. Elphinstone, to prevent any misrepresentation which may be made to him of your claims or my own.

"It may be well, then, I think, that you should again send Mr. Davies notice of your intention to preach in St. Thomas' Church. Should he still be contumacious, it will remain to be considered what measures can be most effectually adopted to bring him to reason. And, in that case, though the result of the proceedings against Mr. ———, in this presidency was such as to make me heartily deprecate any appeal to the consistorial arms, you will, I trust, not find me deficient in a sense of what is due to both of us from those under our spiritual government and superintendance.

"I have heard with great pleasure a favourable account of your health. Most gladly should I look forward to a renewal of our Oxford acquaintance at Bombay next year. But the claims of the upper provinces of this presidency, which have never yet been visited at all, are necessarily to be first considered; and there is little probability of my reaching the western coast till the spring of 1825. At present I am fast chained to Calcutta by a large arrear of business.

"I had the pleasure to see your brother and his family at

Christ Church about six months ago, all well and cheerful. He may, possibly, have told you of a scheme which I was then agitating, of removing you, had it suited your views, from Bombay to Calcutta. Indeed, the measures which, when I left England, were going through parliament in your and my favour, would put such a removal, in your instance, out of the question. Otherwise, I need not say, how valuable your neighbourhood, your advice, and your society would have been to

"Dear Mr. Archdeacon,

"Ever truly your's

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

"Since writing the foregoing letter, your second packet has reached me. I feel much obliged to you for communicating to me the additional correspondence, from a part of which, as you may observe, I have borrowed some expressions in the postscript of my admonition. Its main body I see no reason for altering; nor have I time to do more than express my entire satisfaction with your conduct, so far as the evidence before me extends; and my full and unfailing confidence in your judgment, moderation, and good temper. I wish we had more of this latter quality in Calcutta; though I have some reason to hope that my endeavours have, thus far, not been altogether ineffectual in reconciling the feuds of the clerical circle.

"With regard to the establishment of committees for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, I have hitherto understood that Bishop Middleton's plan was rather to carry on his missionary projects through the medium of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, as already in possession of the Indian field, and no improper recipient for whatever aid the other Society could supply. Whether his alleged views or your's are the best, I have not yet seen enough of India to determine. It seems, however, to me from some conversation which I have had with the laity, that they already complain of the too great number of subscriptions demanded from them, and that, possibly, to subdivide the claims of the Church still further, would be attended with no advantage. A very good man, Mr. Thomason, has indeed pressed me to blend all the three Church

Societies devoted to missionary purposes into one, so far as India is concerned, each corresponding with its own parent stock by means of a separate secretary, but carrying on their deliberations and collecting their funds jointly. There are many reasons in my mind why, with regard to the Church Missionary Society, this is not likely to be effected. But I see no reason why the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel should not make the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge the channel of its bounties to India; or why the contributions raised should not be on their joint account, without the apparatus of separate committees, which would, indeed, consist only of the same persons, acting in different capacities. But on all these points I am as yet in much want of information, and shall be grateful for any which you can give me."

To the Reverend Henry Davies, senior Chaplain at Bombay.

Fort William, Nov. 12, 1823.

"Reverend Sir,

"Since my arrival in Calcutta, I have received a packet from Archdeacon Barnes, enclosing the letters which have passed between you, and referring to my authority the dispute which has arisen respecting his admission into the pulpit of St. Thomas's Church. A similar packet, containing also your own letter to the Reverend the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Affairs in India, has been forwarded to me by those gentlemen, with a similar request, that I would undertake the decision of a question in which they had declined, in expectation of my arrival, to give you any definitive answer.

"The papers thus submitted to me I have read with the care which their importance deserves; and it is, I trust, without partiality towards any one, as it is, I am sure, without any unkindly feeling towards yourself, that I would now call your attention to the following observations as to the decision which I feel myself compelled to make, and the grounds on which that decision is founded.

"The question before me would seem to lie within a narrow compass; it is, whether the late bishop of Calcutta had power to lay down a code of regulations for the performance of divine

service, and the preaching of God's word in the archidiaconal church of Bombay, like that under which Archdeacon Barnes has acted; or whether a minister in your situation is justified in regarding those regulations as nugatory, and the consequent conduct of the archdeacon, as a violent and unwarranted intrusion.

"On the general propriety of the regulations themselves, and their consistency with ecclesiastical law, (no less than with the utility and credit of the appointment of archdeacon, and the apparent intentions of the legislature in sending out such a clerical officer to India,) it is the less necessary for me to enlarge, since the subject has been already ably discussed by Bishop Middleton himself, in his letter to the chaplains of Madras, of which letter I find Archdeacon Barnes has furnished you with a copy. I would merely observe, that the office of an archdeacon, in its original institution, was by no means confined to that superintendance of the clergy to which you would limit it. He is styled by the canon law, '*vicarius episcopi in* OMNIBUS.' The council of Westminster, while determining the duties of archdeacons, decree, '*sub anathemate, in Archidiaconatu resideant* CONCIONENTUR, PASCANT.'* And it is hard to conceive that Bishop Middleton has erred in assigning to such an important functionary a certain place, and certain definite times for doing that, which, by the practice and precept of the Church, it was peremptorily his duty to do.

"Again, the government of Bombay, by the authority, and under the injunction of the Honourable Court of Directors, assigned, before you had any connexion with it, St. Thomas's as the archidiaconal church, wherein the archdeacon was solemnly inducted to his office, and had a conspicuous place assigned to him. Did, then, the government of Bombay,—did the supreme government of India,—did the court of directors at home, intend that the officer whom they had liberally endowed, and eminently distinguished, should do absolutely nothing in the church which they had assigned to him, but watch the conduct of others? That he should remain an idle pageant, discreditable to the na-

* Gibson codex, pp. 1009-10.

tion which put him forth, and to the cause of Christianity worse than useless? Or must they not have rather anticipated that their chaplains would readily accept as a relief, and not as an encroachment, the co-operation of a man of distinguished talents and undoubted orthodoxy,—their fellow labourer in the same cause, and in future, to be elected from the number of their own fellow servants?

"I am not, however, compelled to rest the validity of the regulation in question, or its conformity with the archidiaconal office, on the implied intentions of the legislature and of the East India Company. As *episcopal regulations* in a matter wholly spiritual, and where no law either of God or men can be quoted against their execution, they have, besides, (putting the office of the archdeacon altogether out of the question, and supposing them to be made in favour of any private clergyman of unblemished character,) an obligation on all those who profess themselves of the same communion, and one which a conscientious clergyman of that communion should be the last to impugn or undervalue.

"That the pastoral, as well as the corrective and judicial power of the bishop extends over his whole diocese, and that no place of public worship can claim to be of the Church form, from which his presence and doctrine are excluded, is apparent from the nature of the episcopal office as described in Scripture, no less than the strongest authorities of the canon law, and from the practice of the Church in every age since its foundation. On this topic, however, there is happily no occasion to enlarge, since you expressly, and without limitation, admit the right of your diocesan to preach at any time and in any of the churches in India.

"But it is my duty to observe that the power of preaching, which the bishop himself possesses, he has a right to delegate to any person in holy orders whom he may think it expedient thus to employ. It is through him that, in the first instance, the commission is derived to preach at all, or to exercise any ministry in the Church whatever. But, *a fortiori*, he who can elevate a layman to the rank of a priest, can authorize a priest to preach in any place where he is himself entitled to do so. And as

no priest can preach without the bishop's license, it would seem a remarkable inconsistency in any one thus situated, to deny in another the validity of that appointment to which he himself owes all the spiritual rights of his station.

"It is, indeed, a well-known fact in English ecclesiastical history, from the earliest times down, I believe, to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that nothing was more common than the appointment of itinerant preachers, who went from church to church under the authority of episcopal license. Such men are required by the constitutions of Arundel, to exhibit their credentials before the parish priests shall admit them into their pulpits; but the whole tenour of those constitutions implies that such a license, when exhibited, was to be effectual. Nor do I apprehend that in a Christian country, except by some strange misconception, would any minister be found to object to the moderate exercise of a power so obviously tending to the edification of the Church, to the diffusion of Christian knowledge, to the emulation, improvement, and personal ease of the minister himself whose obedience is demanded.

"You, Sir, indeed, in your first letter to Archdeacon Barnes, would seem to treat your resistance as a matter of *conscience*, and to regard it as a crime to yield your pulpit, even for a single Sunday morning, to any other person, however qualified and recommended. Of such a notion I am inclined to hope that more mature consideration may have shown you the inadmissibility. It supposes, if it be good for any thing, that no other person but yourself is qualified to fill the place in question; and that your own silence in the Church, for however short a period, would endanger the souls under your charge. Allow me to say that, even if you were an inspired teacher, you could have no right to hold such language. The rule of St. Paul is plain, that a minister of the Gospel, however gifted, ought to be willing to learn as well as apt to teach; and that the presbyters in the same Church, whether inspired or no, ought meekly to make way for one another. 'Ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn and all may be comforted, and the spirits of the prophets are subject unto the prophets; for God is not the

author of confusion, but of peace in all the churches of the saints.'

"There is, indeed, one instance on record (but it is an instance which you will hardly accept as favourable to your cause) in which an Asiatic bishop complains of an arrogant presbyter, who refused to receive into the Church those who went forth to be 'fellow helpers of the truth.'* I am far, God knows, from desiring to impute to you the motives or the guilt of Diotrephes. I do not, I cannot forget the awful distance between *his* offence who resisted an inspired apostle, and *his* errour, who questions the right of a short-sighted and sinful person, his fellow transgressor, and (it may be with far less success than himself) his fellow labourer in the Gospel. But though the worthiness of the person differs, and though the spiritual gifts have been withdrawn, the commission from Christ is still, as I apprehend, the same; and it is the *official capacity* of a bishop which (however imperfect his life, and his attainments however humble) entitles his regulations to the respect and obedience of his clergy.

"The authority of a bishop, unless where accidentally invested with a different and adscititious character, is, however, I am well aware, altogether of a *spiritual nature;* over the civil rights and temporal property of his clergy, he, as a bishop, has no controul. And in those countries where the ministers of religion have been endowed by the munificence of the civil power, or where they have been clothed by that power with the formalities of temporal judges, and their sentences backed by a host of secular enactments and penalties, it was competent for the state to lay what condition it pleased on the acceptance of its bounty. And thus have arisen in our own country a multitude of immunities, restrictions, and injunctions, partly designed to prevent the abuses of ecclesiastical power, and partly to increase the

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* 3 John 8, 9, 10. "We therefore ought to receive such that we might be fellow helpers to the truth.

"I wrote unto the Church, but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not.

"Wherefore, if I come, I will remember the deeds which he doeth, prating against us with malicious words; and not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth them out of the Church."

sphere of its activity, which if a bishop violates, he may be lawfully and conscientiously opposed by any clergyman, whose property or chartered rights are wounded.

"The writ of a bishop, I am ready to allow, must not be obeyed when it is in violation of the laws of the land. But those laws must be defined, those chartered rights must be established, before either the one or the other can be pleaded in justification of disobedience. Of spiritual power itself (it is necessary to bear in mind) the state is not the fountain. A bishop, as such, is not the creature of the civil magistrate. His authority existed before the civil power had recognized him; it existed while the civil sword was bared against him in its fiercest cruelty; it is recognized as existing already and independently of the civil power, in those very enactments whereby the civil power controuls and regulates its exercise. And whether it is found in a state of depression and discountenance, as in the Episcopal Church of Scotland, or in a state of persecution, as in the Episcopal Church of Greece, or altogether unconnected with the civil institutions of the land, as in the Episcopal Churches of North America and Malayalim, it admits no other, and it can seek no nobler source of its authority than that of 'as my Father hath sent me, so send I you;' 'whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.'

"I am very far indeed from judging those who, from conscientious error, reject the form of Episcopal government. To one common Master they must stand or fall; and my best desire and my daily prayer to God is, that they as well as we may be found standing on the same divine book before Him. But I am addressing the avowed member of an episcopal church, who has received his commission to preach from episcopal hands, and whose very continuance in the communion and service of that church, is a tacit engagement to submit to episcopal authority. And I would earnestly appeal to your own sense of propriety, whether it is not necessary to the continuance of every religious society that the authority of its rulers, whether one or many, should be respected by its members, and whether the very recognized existence of such a society does not imply the general

and abstract right of its rulers to make regulations and by-laws for its internal administration and government.

"It is not necessary, then, for an ecclesiastical ruler to prove, in each particular exercise of spiritual or ecclesiastical authority, that he is backed by some particular statute of the temporal sovereign; that his letters patent have expressly provided for the point in dispute; or that there is a precedent exactly corresponding in the records of a court of equity. Still less is it decent or proper for a minister of the church to intrench himself, in every instance, behind the letter of the law, and refuse to obey his superior in what that superior has, possibly, no power to enforce by civil penalties. His obedience should be, not for wrath but conscience sake; his question, not 'can I safely resist?' but 'can I legally obey?' And, I repeat it, where no known law is broken, no substantial civil right infringed, the injunction of a bishop (whether supported by the specific terms of his patent or not) is binding on the conscience of his clergy.

"If the case were otherwise,—if the power of such a spiritual functionary (unlike the kingdom of his Divine Master) were of this world only; if he were only to be heard where he was backed by acts of parliament, and surrounded with the pains and penalties of temporal courts of justice, it is apparent that the oath of canonical obedience, which every clergyman takes, with the sanction of the state itself, at the time of his ordination, would be merely an idle form, unproductive of any real authority or church union. It would be needless to make a man swear to do that, for refusing to do which he must lose his maintenance or be cast into prison. It follows that a possibility at least was contemplated of other questions to be determined, and other regulations to be made. And I really cannot conceive how we are to understand some of the plainest and least equivocal words in our language, if the oath which you have taken, and which I am persuaded you are, as far as any man, from desiring to violate or to despise, does not imply your obedience to *any* ecclesiastical arrangements of your ordinary, which are not contrary to the laws of God, or the laws of the land, or the vested civil rights of individuals.

"Of the laws of God I have already spoken; and till some

opposing statute or some recorded case is adduced, of a contrary tendency, I must continue to believe that the laws of the land, by implication at least, are favourable to my view of the subject. I know nothing more immediately tending to spiritual things than the power of sending labourers into the vineyard, and recommending such labourers, with parental authority, to the friendly reception of their brethren. And you must find some better grounds than a *reported* recommendation of the court of directors, or a *reported* pleasantry of Mr. Canning's,* (both of which, however, I have reason to believe had reference to a very different transaction,) before I shall be inclined to depart from the exercise and enforcement of a right, to which I consider myself generally warranted by Scripture.

"Of the civil and vested rights of individuals, God forbid I should be careless. But by the regulation in question, what rights are wounded? What injury is done to any one? You are well aware that the archdeacon is not empowered to perform, nay, that he is expressly inhibited from performing, any duties for which fees are usually demanded or received. It is hard to say to what amount a court of justice would assess the damages arising to a preacher, from his being relieved by his superior from the task of composing twelve or fourteen sermons out of about sixty. And I am assured by the highest authorities in India, that it is highly improbable that any court of law would interfere with a bishop in the moderate exercise of a discretion so purely ecclesiastical.

"Even in England, then, where the church of the parochial minister is his freehold, the bishop, as I apprehend, is competent to grant a license to whom he pleases, for an occasional en-

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* For enabling the reader to understand this passage, it is necessary to mention, that Mr. Davies had, in defence of his own conduct, asserted in one letter to Archdeacon Barnes, that "the court of directors had explicitly declared their desire, that the controul exercised over their chaplains should be confined simply to a spiritual jurisdiction." In another, he says, "I beg to subjoin also for your information the opinion given by Mr. Canning, when the matter of Madras, which is precisely the same as that agitated here, and the desire of our late prelate to extend the authority of his overseers at the presidencies of India, was communicated to him, he immediately said, 'the law of the land cannot be altered, which it would be necessary to do to meet the good bishop's wishes.'"—Ed.

trance into any pulpit of his diocese; and the archdeacon, as I have shown, is the person of all others, in whose favour such a regulation might be expected. But in India, what right have you which can be injured by such a regulation? Your right to the pulpit, and your continuance in that right, are strictly during pleasure. You may be removed immediately to any other station, or no station at all, by an order of the governor in council; and the freehold of the church, so far as such a term is applicable to the case, resides, I apprehend, in the East India Company. But the company have, by their own act, placed the archdeacon there; and in their deed, preparatory to consecration, assigned it to the purposes of divine worship, in the form, and according to the custom of the Church of England. And I have not the smallest reason to believe that the court of directors at home, or any of the local governments in this country, either have objected, or do object, to the regulations made for this purpose by Bishop Middleton. Those regulations have been made more than sufficiently public in all the three presidencies of India. At Calcutta they find a place in the government printed register. At Madras, they were, at first, publicly opposed, and have since been quietly acquiesced in. At Bombay they have been acted on without opposition or difficulty, till you yourself, on a groundless scruple of conscience, and on no civil grounds, (for those last do not seem to have occurred to you till after you had commenced your opposition,) thought fit to resist the authority and withdraw yourself from the ministry of your diocesan and ecclesiastical superior.

"To his excellency the governor of Bombay, to the supreme government of India, and to the honourable the court of directors, whenever they object to the regulations in question, I shall be ready and willing, with all due respect, to render a reason for my conduct. And I have no fear that I shall fail in convincing them of the propriety of some such measure with that which you object to, and how little such a measure can be regarded as invading the comforts and rights of the chaplains, or their own power and patronage. But, till this occurs, I am bound by a sacred duty to maintain the principle that, where no negative is opposed by the laws of God or man, the power of

the bishop in ecclesiastical matters is binding on all such as are of his communion, and on those, surely, above all, whose ordination engagements were a lie to the Holy Ghost, if they were not something more than an empty ceremony.

"If the regulations of Bishop Middleton are practically found disadvantageous, or if they have been (of which no complaint has been brought before me) so abused as either to wound the feelings or interfere with the convenience of the chaplains, I shall be ready to attend to whatever suggestions you may offer, and shall be far from adhering to any rule which it is obviously desirable to change, or support any ecclesiastical officer in oppression or discourtesy. But, in the meantime, and on the grounds which I have stated, I entreat you, as your fellow labourer in the Lord, as your spiritual father, (however unworthy the name,) I advise, exhort, and admonish you, that you no longer seek to narrow the usefulness, and impede the labours of your brother,—that you no longer continue to offer to the Heathen, and those who differ from our church, the spectacle of a clergy divided among themselves, and a minister in opposition to his spiritual superiors; but that you recall your unguarded words; that you recollect your ordination engagement; and even if you are still unconvinced as to the full extent of the claims which your archdeacon and your diocesan possess over you, that you would be ready to abandon, for the sake of peace, some little of your supposed independence, and rather endure a wrong than violate a charity.

"That the God of peace, of order, and of love may enlighten, direct, and bless you, is the sincere prayer of,

"Reverend Sir,

"Your faithful servant in Christ,

"Reginald Calcutta."

"P. S.—There are yet two points which I have not noticed. 1st. The apparent want of respect and meekness in some of your letters to Archdeacon Barnes; and, 2dly. Your breach of the accustomed decorum of your church in absenting yourself from your usual seat and your regular functions in it, on the occasions when he is present.

"It is my duty to remind you that the dissensions of brethren are no fit subjects for levity; that the resistance of an ecclesiastic to his superiors, even if it were just and necessary, should still be a cause of sorrow; that in no other branch of public service would it be endured that a junior should tell his senior officer that he would act as he pleased, or that he would have no further verbal communication with him; and that the last time of all others in which a Christian should show disrespect to those in authority over him, is the time when he is personally at variance with them. It is probable, in consequence of what I have written to Archdeacon Barnes, that he will renew the notice of his intention to preach in St. Thomas's church on some early Sunday. An opportunity will thus be given you of retracing your recent steps, and by a ready compliance and a respectful demeanour, of blotting out the past forever. For God's sake—for the sake of his church, for the temporal interest of your family, which may be greatly injured by the possible consequences of contumacy, and for your own eternal interest, which cannot be safe while engaged in such a struggle, let not this opportunity pass away."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Bishop's College—Its situation and style of building—Collegiate Establishment—Additional land granted to the College—Calcutta Church Missionary Society Association—Scarcity of Chaplains in Ceylon—Christian David—Want of Clergy in India—Native Female Education—Religious Instruction of the Seamen—Suspension Bridge—The Bishop's way of Life. 1823—1824.

The interests of the Bishop's College at Calcutta, an institution which will reflect lasting honour on the memory of the first Protestant bishop in India, soon attracted the anxious attention of his successor. It will not be irrelevant to the object of this memoir, to state, shortly, the reasons which induced Bishop Middleton to urge on the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the necessity of such an establishment; the objects which it was intended to further; its progress towards completion; as well as the measures pursued by Bishop Heber for promoting its welfare; with the existing state of the institution.

In a very few years after Bishop Middleton's arrival in India, he became convinced that the conversion of the Heathen would be most effectually forwarded, by instructing them in various branches of European knowledge, without reference being had, in the first instance, to their religious improvement. "Preaching," he apprehended, "must form a prominent part in any scheme for the conversion of these people; but a preparation of the native mind was further required to enable them to comprehend the importance and truth of the doctrines proposed to them; which could only be done by the effect of education."*

* Letter from Bishop Middleton to the Reverend Anthony Hamilton. Calcutta, 16th November, 1818.

And he also saw that without the assistance of native teachers, and the translation of the Scriptures into the languages of the country, the exertions of our chaplains and missionaries would fail in making any considerable impression on the religious prejudices of the natives. In 1818, he therefore, in reply to a letter from the society, in which they had requested his opinion on the subject, strongly pressed on them the necessity of establishing a mission college near Calcutta, for the several purposes of instructing both Mussulmans and Hindoos in the English language, and in useful knowledge, having only their temporal interests, in the first instance, in view; for educating both native and European Christians in the doctrines of our Church, so as to fit them for the offices of schoolmasters, catechists, and priests; for translating the Scriptures and Common Prayer, and for receiving missionaries sent from England, before they were appointed to their respective stations.

This proposal met with the cordial and active concurrence of the society; and such was the interest excited among all classes of men in favour of the plans suggested for extending the blessings of Christianity to India, that when the royal letter was granted, in 1819, authorizing collections to be made in the churches throughout England, for the furtherance of these views, the sum collected amounted to upwards of 50,000*l*.

On this important undertaking did Bishop Middleton devote much time, thought and personal labour. He not only superintended the progress of the building, but himself drew all the plans, and entered into the most minute details of its internal arrangements; while to his anxiety for its completion may his death, humanly speaking, be in some degree attributed. Although he was not permitted to witness those advantages which he anticipated from the institution, he yet lived long enough to see the exterior of "Bishop's College" completed; its principal professor appointed; and to lay down rules for its future government.

The college stands on the right bank of the Hooghly, on a piece of ground granted by government, about three miles from Calcutta, on the opposite side of the river, and immediately adjoing the company's botanical gardens. It faces the south, from

which quarter alone the winds blow during the hot monsoon, and forms a very beautiful object on sailing up the "Garden Reach," of the river. The style in which it is built, the gothic of Queen Elizabeth's time, does not, indeed, suit the climate of India, which requires deep verandahs and Venetian blinds to make it tolerable, either of which would destroy the effect of its arched windows; nor does it possess, on the plain of Bengal, and surrounded with palms and plaintains, the same charm of association and appropriate structure which belongs to it in England or Normandy. The expense, too, of the building, has very far exceeded the original calculation, and has been, perhaps, more than double what a Grecian building of the same dimensions would have occasioned. But it will remain, so long as Christianity maintains any footing in India, a noble monument to the comprehensive and pious genius of its projector, and to the munificence of the society which established it.*

Immediately after Bishop Heber's arrival in India, he undertook the management of every thing connected with the college, and assumed, as visiter, the power of inspecting its internal arrangements. Since the death of its founder the building had, from various causes, especially from the want of money, been much retarded; but under his inspection, and with the assistance of the annual liberal grant from the Church Missionary Society, its progress was rapid. The first missionaries whom the parent society sent out, Messrs. Morton and Christian, arrived in Calcutta soon after the bishop; but as they could not at that time be received into the college, he appointed them to superintend two circles of Bengalee schools, supported by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, while they were, at the same time, acquiring the necessary knowledge of the languages. In January, 1824, Mr. Mill, the principal professor, with his wife and family, took up his residence in the college;

* The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge contributed 5000*l.* towards the building, and soon after the Church Missionary Society voted a similar sum for the same purpose; and has also annually granted, since 1822, 1000*l.* towards its maintenance. The British and Foreign Bible Society gave 2000*l.* towards translating the Scriptures, and Bishop Middleton augmented the building fund by a donation of 4000 rupees.

and in the course of the spring, a third missionary from the society, Mr. Tweddle, and four students were admitted. The chapel was still unfinished; but divine service was performed in the library, a long and handsome room, fitted up with stalls, like the Bodleian library in Oxford. Besides the residents, several neighbouring families, and a very respectable congregation from Howrah, an adjoining town, chiefly inhabited by ship builders, of mixed or Anglo-Indian blood, attended on Sundays, and morning and evening prayers were regularly read throughout the week.

The library, at that time, contained about three thousand volumes, chiefly of the ecclesiastical history of the Eastern Church; of divinity, oriental literature, travels and voyages, and history; a great part of which had been given to it by Mr. Mill. Bishop Middleton had also enriched the collection with some valuable Syrian manuscripts, and at his death he bequeathed to it five hundred volumes from his own library. Not only was the chapel unfinished, but the printing-house and the dwellings for the native teachers were unbuilt, from want of money, and rooms in the college were obliged to be given up both for the press and the pundits.

In 1825 the bishop preached at Bombay, Columbo, and Calcutta, on behalf of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, more especially with reference to the wants of the Mission College, and very considerable sums were collected. He intended preaching, also, for the same object, immediately on his arrival at Madras; but on further consideration he delayed doing so until his return from visiting the southern provinces, both that he might acquire a personal knowledge of the state of Christianity in that most interesting part of the country, and also that he might become better acquainted with those before whom he was to plead its cause. This duty, alas! devolved on his chaplain, Mr. Robinson; and the effect which his preaching produced bore ample testimony, as well to his own eloquence, as to the love and veneration universally felt for his departed friend.

With the money thus obtained, the college works went rapidly on. The second and third professors, Messrs. Holmes and Craven, accompanied by Mr. de Melho, a native Portuguese

Indian, who had been educated at Cambridge, and ordained by the bishop of London for the Society's missions, arrived in the autumn of 1825; and when the editor left Calcutta on the 1st January, 1827, the printing-house, with its requisite apartments for the superintendant, had long been completed; its press was in active operation; the chapel was finished; and a small native town, the habitations of the teachers, and of the servants belonging to the establishment, had arisen within the precincts of the college. The regular inmates of the college were, at that time, the three professors with their families, two missionaries, and eleven students, one of whom was the Armenian deacon, who had been left under the bishop's care by his uncle, the suffragan bishop of Jerusalem. The schools at Howrah, Russipugli, and Cossipoor, were attached to the college, and were superintended by Messrs. Tweddle and De Melho.

The land originally granted by government for this institution, being found too small to admit of the improvements necessary for the health and comfort of its inhabitants, the bishop, in 1825, applied for and obtained an additional grant of about sixty acres of waste ground, immediately adjoining its western extremity, which belonged to the botanic garden, and had once formed part of an experimental teak plantation. This grant was of immense importance to the college, not only as affording space for a good kitchen-garden, the want of which had long been felt; but as the land was boggy and covered with jungle, the chief exciting causes of fever in India, its drainage and cultivation would greatly increase the salubrity of the station. Sufficient space would thus, also, be obtained for the additional number of native huts, necessary as the college buildings increased; an increase which the bishop contemplated so soon as the funds would admit of its being made. He calculated that the present collegiate establishment would suffice for the education of thirty or forty students; and that when the first expense of enlarging the building was provided for, the increased annual charge would be as nothing, when compared to the immense benefits that would be derived from it.* The institution

* The editor has the gratification of stating, that, in 1829, two additional ranges

must, undoubtedly, be yet considered in its infancy; but it has already given promise of what may eventually be expected from its operations.

The societies for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and for Promoting Christian Knowledge, having each placed their missionaries in India under Bishop Middleton's direction, by whom they had been regularly licensed, his successor wished, before he left England, to see the missionaries sent to India by the Church Missionary Society placed, in the same manner, under his immediate jurisdiction, in common with the other clergy of his diocese. The inconvenience, and, in some instances, the mischief, arising from their not having hitherto received episcopal licenses, had long been felt by the members of the society, who, at that time, expressed their anxious wish that their missionaries should be placed under the same episcopal authority with their brethren in the East. To effect this desirable object, the bishop applied to the king's advocate, who gave it as his opinion—an opinion entirely concurred in by the president and the other members of the India board, that, by the terms of the patent, "*all* clergymen of the Church of England employed in any ministry within the diocese of Calcutta, are subject to the bishop's authority." One object which the bishop had in view in procuring this opinion was, that the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society might thereby be enabled, with the approbation of their superiors, to assist the regular company's chaplains in their professional duties, in cases of necesssity or strong expediency, which hitherto they had not been permitted to do; without, however, losing sight of the difference between the duties of a missionary expressly appointed for the conversion of the Heathen, and of the chaplain whose business it more especially was to attend to the spiritual interests of the European part of the community. The arrangement was the more desirable, as, from the scarcity of government chaplains, and the continual vacancies caused among

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of buildings, in the same style of architecture with the wings, were in progress, for the accommodation of an increased number of students, in furtherance of her husbands views.

them by sickness or death, stations were frequently left without a minister, which could thus be temporarily supplied from another source.

Under the sanction of this opinion, the bishop, on his arrival, required that all the church missionaries should report their names, appointments, and letters of orders, to the archdeacons of their respective presidencies, to be transmitted to him, when their regular licenses would be made out and returned, in the same manner as was observed with the company's chaplains. In Calcutta a meeting of the Church Missionary Society Association, which had recently been formed in connexion with, and by the friends of the Church Missionary Parent Society, and of which the bishop was requested to be president, was called on the 2d of the December succeeding his arrival. In the course of its proceedings a resolution was proposed, "that every missionary of the society should, on his arrival in Bengal, wait on the bishop for his license." The bishop entered at some length into the reasons which had induced him to make the contemplated arrangement in England, and, on which, in fact, he had already begun to act, as though, out of courtesy to the Calcutta association the resolution had been proposed, the opinion given by the king's advocate was of itself sufficient to authorize his proceedings. All the clergy present, including the missionaries, one chaplain alone excepted, were unanimous for its adoption; but the greater part of the lay members vehemently opposed it, alleging, among other equally improbable reasons, "that a bishop might refuse his license, and break up the society."

In fact, these members, who knew but little of the necessary rules of an episcopal church, were not acquainted with the character of the person appointed to superintend the ecclesiastical affairs of India, and were apprehensive that something, they knew not what, was meditated, by what they denominated the high church party, against their independence. When the question was put to the vote it was lost; the missionaries themselves not being allowed a voice, though their own interests were the most deeply involved. But after the meeting, many of those who had opposed it, told the bishop they were perfectly content that the proposed resolution should stand as a *by-law*

of the committee. With this the bishop declared himself satisfied, as in fact the concurrence of the meeting was not necessary to sanction his proceedings; and as a by-law, the resolution still continues on the records of the society.

The editor has given this account of the transaction, in order that the following letter may be more perfectly understood. Mr. Mill, (the principal professor of Bishop's College,) to whom it is addressed, was present at the meeting; he had openly declared himself as friendly to the Church Missionary Society, and was most anxious for the adoption of the measure proposed, from a wish to see that ecclesiastical correctness in its proceedings which its name implied.

Unfortunately, the suspicions entertained of the high church party were expressed too openly, and with too little courtesy, to allow of that cordial union between two parties, each labouring in the same cause, which the bishop was so anxious to promote.

To the Reverend Principal Mill.

Fort William, December 3, 1823.

"Dear Mr. Principal,

"I am pressed to-day by more than usual correspondence; yet I cannot refrain from thanking you for your attendance at the meeting yesterday, as well as for the wise and seasonable amendment which you proposed. The manner in which that was received was not, indeed, such as to encourage your future visits to us; yet I have many reasons for wishing and hoping that they will be frequent. Many allowances, you know as well as I do, must be made for the peculiar circumstances of India, the novelty of episcopal authority in these countries, and the suspicion, arising from an ignorance of its real nature, with which every claim made by that authority is regarded by those laymen who made up the majority of yesterday's debate. With all such it seems to be my business to proceed calmly; from all such to bear as much as I am justified in doing, till by a diligent discharge of my more popular duties, I can obtain a patient hearing for my unpopular claims, and prove, as I verily believe I shall be able to do, how much those claims have been

misunderstood and misrepresented. In the meantime, as you would observe, I yesterday repeatedly laid claim to the right in question, as that which I had already begun to exercise, and which I should continue to do whether they formally recognized it or no; and you may have observed also that I refused to receive it (as conveyed in the amendment) as a personal compliment to myself, and not to my official character. I have since had the satisfaction to hear that many, even of those who were not with us, now regret the event of the discussion; and that if the same measure is brought forward in a form, somewhat altered, in the committee, there is no doubt of its being carried. It is in this hope, notwithstanding the foolish things which were said yesterday, that I have continued in my situation as president; and it is in this hope that I expect to derive great benefit to the Church from the attendance of yourself and men like you. It is, after all, an object not to be abandoned hastily, to retain a numerous and wealthy, and most active body of men in the avowed allegiance of the Church, and at a distance from the ready embrace of the dissenters. It is something much more to attach such a body, in spirit as well as in name, to our forms and discipline; and it was a source of much encouragement to me yesterday that all the missionaries present, and all the other clergy, except one, were among our active and anxious supporters.

"With these on the side of church discipline (who only are likely to be affected by it) I have no fear but that a really sound and apostolical discipline may be revived and established; and I confess that I see no place under heaven where such a discipline is more likely to produce the best effects, or to exist in its ancient purity, than in a church like the Indian, where pluralities are unknown; where ecclesiastical courts are new, and as yet, blameless of the abominable corruptions which, in England, defile and disgrace them; and where, according to the hint which I gave you when we first met, but which I cannot now venture to speak of publicly, a modification of our old neglected canons may be effected, in which the climate and the change of manners may be consulted, and a nearer approach obtained to those models which bear the united stamp of good sense and

venerable antiquity. If I am spared and enabled to lay even the first stone of such a fabric, I feel as if I could say '*Domine nunc dimittis.*' With every good wish for yourself and Mrs. Mill,

"Believe me, dear Principal,

"Ever your's most truly,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To the Honourable and Venerable Dr. Twisleton, Archdeacon of Ceylon.

December 10, 1823.

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"With regard to the interesting and important subjects mentioned in your letter, I beg leave to observe as follows:

"I rejoice to say that the difficulty felt by my great and good predecessor, as to recognizing the clergymen employed in this diocese by the Church Missionary Society, (so far as that difficulty arose from their not being licensed by him, and not subject to his jurisdiction,) is now removed. 1st. By an opinion given by the king's advocate, and entirely concurred in by the president of the board of controul, Dr. Phillimore, and other members of government, that all clergymen of the church of England employed in any public ministry within the diocese of Calcutta, are, by the terms of the patent, subject to the bishop's authority. 2dly. By the ready consent of the Church Missionary Society themselves, to submit their missionaries to episcopal government. I will thank you, therefore, to take measures for informing, through the registrar of your archdeaconry, all individuals of this description resident in Ceylon, to send in their names, stations, appointments, and letters of orders to you, in order that you may certify the same to me, and that I may forward the necessary licenses, as in the case of chaplains. You may then, without scruple, admit them to assist the regular chaplains, whenever such assistance may appear to you to be necessary and expedient, of course, keeping in view the distinction which should, in ordinary cases, be observed between the duties of a chaplain and of a missionary. * * * *

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"With reference to the case of such missionaries preaching Calvinism, I am sorry to learn that a majority of those in Ceylon, are the advocates of its gloomy doctrines; and I am sure I need not recommend to you to give the preference, whenever the power of choice exists, to those who embrace a sounder view of the Divine love, or who observe a prudent silence on topics so difficult and liable to abuse. But on the letter of Archdeacon Owen I cannot help remarking, that I consider his authority as chaplain-general to be of a very different character from that which he has assumed on this occasion; that the spiritual superintendence of the clergy and the churches of Ceylon belongs to yourself and to the bishop of the diocese; and that I am perfectly ignorant what right he can have had to dictate either to you, or me, or to Bishop Middleton, whose death was unknown to him at the time of his writing that letter, and whom I conceive he might have safely trusted on any point of doctrine or ecclesiastical discipline.

"As to the injunction itself which he has addressed to you, I conceive that, even in England, the systematic exclusion of Calvinists (*quoad* Calvinists) from our churches would lead to nothing less than an open schism, more considerable perhaps in its extent, and more formidable in its consequences, than any by which our unfortunate Church has been yet afflicted. But in India, where the harvest is so enormous, and the labourers so deplorably few; where it is with the greatest difficulty that we can obtain a supply of clergymen of any description to administer the sacraments of the Church, or to celebrate marriages in a canonical manner,—it would be, as it appears to me, most unjustifiable to make the limits of orthodoxy as he would be understood to make them, or to reject the help of men who, however they may hold, on one less essential point, a different opinion from the majority of their brethren, are yet conformists to our Church, of unblameable moral character, and willing, nay anxious, as it appears in the present instance, to submit themto episcopal authority.

"Should any preacher, licensed within your archdeaconry, inculcate Antinomianism, or transgress the bounds of the liturgy and the canons, I am sure I can rely on your reporting the offence

to me, in order that the proper steps may be taken to correct or silence him. But, in the mean time, I am persuaded that neither the framers of our articles and canons, nor the great majority of the present governors of our Church, would wish you to adopt such a line of conduct as that which is recommended by the chaplain-general.

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Ever your faithful and obedient servant,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

"*Fort William, Dec.* 10, 1823."

From Dr. Twisleton, the bishop had previously received a lamentable account of the scarcity of chaplains in that island. On this subject he sent the following statement to his friend Mr. Wilmot Horton, at that time under secretary for the colonial department. "Ceylon, by all the accounts which I have received, is one of the most improveable countries in the world, both in a political and moral view. The people have always shown themselves well-disposed to receive education; and the number of Europeans who need moral and religious instruction, is, as you well know, very considerable. There are, however, so few chaplains on the establishment, that many large stations are entirely without clergy; and others only receive an occasional supply from missionaries, of whom many, though very good men, are better suited for Indian than European auditors; and all of whom are, by such arrangements, taken off from their proper work, the instruction of the natives. The garrison of Candy has been only supplied with a chaplain by robbing the less numerous one of Galle; and in fact, two or three more than the present establishment, were they even always at their posts, would be quite little enough to attend to the spiritual comfort and instruction of the European population."

To obviate, as far as possible, the existing evil, the bishop recommended to Doctor Twisleton, that Mr. Armour, a resident clergyman in Ceylon, who had been ordained deacon by Bishop Middleton, should be sent to Calcutta to receive priest's orders, without which his ministerial usefulness was materially circumscribed. He also made some inquiries about Christian David, a

native catechist, whom he was anxious to ordain, if the favourable accounts he had heard of his character should prove correct. This man was a pupil of Schwartz, and had been long known and esteemed by his countrymen, among whom he had laboured as schoolmaster, both on the Malabar coast and in Ceylon, as an exemplary Christian, and possessed of considerable knowledge. The answer which the bishop received to his inquiries induced him to send for Christian David to Calcutta, where he was ordained a few months after, being the first native episcopally admitted into holy orders in India.

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Fort William, January 6, 1824.

"My Dear Sir,

"It always gives me pleasure to hear from you, but I could never have been more gratified than by finding that you were satisfied with the manner in which I had attempted to maintain the just and necessary rights of the archdeacon of Bombay.

"I am happy to be now able to inform you that I have received a letter from Mr. Davies, acquiescing unconditionally in my decision, and that he is apparently prepared to expect a renewal of your notice to preach occasionally, within the limits mentioned by Bishop Middleton, immediately on your return to Bombay. It is only fair to add that he expresses himself in a handsome and respectful manner of you, and disavows any intentional departure from the deference and courtesy which every clergyman owes to his superior. If the offensive meaning of his expressions is disavowed, that may serve our purpose; and I am sure I need not recommend the line of conduct which I know to be natural to you—of conciliation towards a retreating adversary.

"I begin to fear, however, that I shall have, ere long, another subject on which to reprimand Mr. Davies; I mean the establishment, which I see announced in the newspapers, of a floating chapel for seamen, in the harbour of Bombay. I am, indeed, strongly inclined to believe that such an establishment may be very useful and desirable; and I know that some of the

best and steadiest friends of our Church in London have regretted that, in that case, the dissenters got the start of us. Still it is plain that such an institution should not have been set on foot without episcopal license and sanction; and from your silence on the subject, as well as that of Mr. Carr, I am inclined to suspect that we have neither of us been consulted.

"Will you have the goodness to favour me with any information on the subject of which you may be in possession, as also with your sentiments as to the propriety and expediency of the measure.

"Your journeys are, indeed, of an apostolic and truly primitive character; and it has given me unfeigned pleasure to hear from Poonah and other quarters, of their popularity and the good effects apparently produced by them. I, also, am anxious to travel, but find I cannot leave Calcutta before the rains."

To John Thornton, Esq.

Tittyghur, Jan. 26, 1824.

"We are sadly off for clergy in India; instead of twenty-eight chaplains, the complete number for Bengal, we have only thirteen.

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"I hope my chaplain will arrive ere long; but, in the mean time, we are in much difficulty, and even his arrival will be a very small help in proportion to the work required. Corrie would willingly work himself to death, but I am obliged to keep him within bounds; and, indeed, though he can now, and does, undertake one of the stations regularly, I cannot hope that he will be able to do it after the hot weather commences. And all this time there are, at least, ten important stations entirely out of the reach of even occasional help.* Perhaps if you men-

* The greater number of stations in the three presidencies, to which the company's chaplains were licensed by Bishop Middleton, are separated from each other by a distance varying from one to four hundred miles; all the intermediate country being, generally speaking, without the advantage of Christian ministry. This evil was, in some degree, alleviated by the permission given by Bishop Heber to the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society to officiate in some of these districts,

tion our wants to Mr. Parry and Mr. Grant, their influence with the directors may obtain some help for us; though I fear that the directors themselves cannot altogether remedy the apparent aversion which young men in England entertain to this service and this climate. Yet this aversion seems to me extremely unfounded; and I am sure that a man of gentlemanly manners and real zeal for religion, will find few situations where he will meet with more kindness and attention, and be more useful than as chaplain to a civil or military station in Bengal.

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Fort William, January, 28, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Your interesting and important packet reached me a few days ago; but I have been prevented till now, by a severe inflammation of my eyes, from reading it. On the numerous topics which it embraces, I hope to write at some length in a few days. I will now only say, 1st, as relates to Mr. Davies; as one of your appropriate turns for preaching (Septuagesima Sunday) occurs in February, it is my request that you would not name another Sunday in the *same month*. My reason is, that I was careful, as you may observe by referring to the copy of my letter, to affirm your right to preach according to the limits expressly defined by Bishop Middleton, who states these limits to be 'once every month in which you have not an appointed turn,' not including 'any lecture in Lent delivered on the week days.' I think you yourself will, on consideration, allow that, as matters now stand, it will be by no means advisable to advance any new claim, or even to exercise an old one in a manner which might provoke discussion, and in which you are not borne out by the letter of the regulation confirmed by me. Your intention to name the Fridays in Lent for your lecture, and the first Sunday of every month, in which you have no

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and, occasionally, to undertake the duties of the resident chaplains. But the want of clergy in almost all parts of the country was severely felt, and lamented by him in his visitations.—ED.

turn for preaching, I, of course fully approve of. The alteration which I suggested in the days of the archdeacon's preaching, may, I think be very advantageously arranged and promulgated in the way you mention. Any step which I take in the business I will, however, first communicate to you for the advantage of your opinion.

"I shall be much obliged by your sending me a copy of the resolutions which you suggest. As far as your plan respecting the Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, is developed in your letter, I much approve of it.

"Ever very truly your's,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To N. Wallich, Esq. M. D.

Fort Williams, Jan. 3, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Mrs. Heber begs to add her best thanks to mine for the more than kind manner in which you have met our wishes respecting Tittyghur. We only hope that this kindness will not be the occasion of much inconvenience, either to Mrs. Wallich or yourself; and that we may hope during our stay in your house, that both you and she will often favour us with your company in it.

"You will, I am sure, pardon me for asking you how soon we may take advantage of your kindness, when I mention that our poor little girl is by no means so well this morning, and that she shows fresh symptoms of pining for a purer air; my wife is therefore anxious to remove with her into the country time enough to be herself confined there.

"Will you also have the goodness to let me know (in order to facilitate our preparations) what is the number of rooms in your house? Whether they have punkas and floor mats, and whether we can have the use of a stable and place for our cows? With our united best compliments to Mrs. Wallich,

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Sincerely your obliged friend,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To Mrs. Charles Lushington.

Tittyghur, February 16, 1824.

"DEAR MADAM,

"From the benevolent interest which you expressed in the success of the native female schools when I met you at the anniversary examination, I am encouraged to trouble you on a subject materially connected with their extension and usefulness. It has been found that some of the natives object to the interference, or supposed interference, of professed missionaries in the schools; and that others, both Mussulmans and Hindoos, dislike their daughters frequenting any place where men reside, and where so many comers and goers may be expected as at the present central school, which is, as you are probably aware, held in Mr. Wilson's house, at the establishment of the Church Missionary Society at Mirzapoor. It is, therefore, proposed to erect a new bungalow for the express purpose of establishing a central female school at some distance from the present establishment, and in a more accessible part of the town, where Mrs. Wilson may carry on her labours distinct from her husband and the other missionaries, under the direction of a committee of ladies, who may also undertake the management of all the native female schools in Calcutta, as well as those which are already established, or may hereafter arise, at Burdwan, and in other parts of India.

"Lady Amherst has kindly promised to be patroness, and to attend as frequently as she can; and I am extremely anxious to concentrate in the assisting committee, as much as possible of the rank, influence, and good sense, as well as benevolence of Calcutta. May I hope that you will permit me to add your name to the list? The duties of schoolmistress will be, of course, still performed by Mrs. Wilson, and the correspondence and accounts will be readily undertaken by Mr. Crawford. The functions of the lady governesses will, therefore, not be very burdensome, being chiefly those of superintendence of the books, the method of teaching, the progress, &c. of the scholars. But these are functions which require so much tact, as well as kindness and zeal, that you will not wonder at my solicitude to obtain such recruits as yourself.

"The object, you are aware, of the institution, will not be to attempt in any direct way the making converts, but to give to as many of the Indian females as possible, an education of a useful and moral character; to enable them to read the Scriptures; and to leave them, in short, in such a state of mental cultivation as will enable them in after life to choose their religion for themselves. It will be, I think, in this, if in any manner, that we shall see any considerable number of Hindoos converted. But whether they are converted or no, such an education as they will receive in these schools, will be, at all events, a great positive benefit; and the eagerness, which, even now, under all discouragements, the native girls manifest for instruction, gives me good hope that, under the countenance and management which I hope to obtain for the system, it may flourish to a far greater extent, and eventually alter in a considerable degree the situation of females in India.

"Believe me, dear Mrs. Lushington,

"Sincerely your faithful and obedient servant,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

The plan to which the bishop, in the last letter, invites the concurrence and assistance of Mrs. Lushington and the principal ladies in Calcutta, is mentioned with more detail in his journal.* It will be sufficient to add here, that the female schools have continued under the same direction as they were at this time placed; and that their success has answered the most sanguine expectations. A central school, with apartments for Mrs. Wilson, according to a plan drawn by the bishop, has been built, in part by contributions among the European residents in Calcutta, assisted by a grant from the Church Missionary Society, and still further augmented by the splendid donation of 20,000 sicca rupees from the Raja Bahadur Budinâth Roy, a Hindoo gentleman residing near Calcutta, who has always taken great and marked interest in the improvement and welfare of his countrymen. At the annual examination held in the school in December 1828, there was one class of teachers or monitors, con-

* Bishop Heber's "Journal in India," Vol. I. p. 71, 12 mo. Philadelphia edit.

sisting of twenty-five native females, who had been educated under Mrs. Wilson's superintendence, and who were then employed in instructing their countrywomen. This circumstance proves, in a remarkable manner, how fast the prejudice against educating their females is wearing away among the natives. At the commencement of Mrs. Wilson's undertaking, it was extremely difficult to engage any person of character to enter on the employment of teacher; at the end of seven years a considerable class of monitors is found in the school, and many of the most respectable Hindoo families have applied for teachers to instruct their daughters in their own houses.

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Calcutta, February 20, 1824.

"My Dear Sir,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of no less than three very interesting packets from you, some of which I should have answered before, had not the state of my eyes (of which, indeed, I cannot yet boast) made writing painful; while the confinement of Mrs. Heber has deprived me of my best, and, in confidential matters, my only secretary.

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"I am very desirous, if it can be contrived, to see you before you leave the East. My plan (which has undergone some modifications from the mass of business which I have found accumulated for me at Calcutta) is now to leave this place with the earliest rains for the upper provinces, which have never been visited at all, and greatly need episcopal inspection, both from the churches to be consecrated, the number of candidates for confirmation who may be expected, and the different abuses of which I have received intelligence. I have been, indeed, so strongly impressed with the necessity of their most urgent claims, that I should have set off thither immediately after Christmas, if it had not been for the reason which I have already mentioned, and the farther consideration, that as I could not travel in the hot months, I should be better and more usefully employed during that time at Calcutta, than at a minor station. As it is,

I should have wished, and it was, when I wrote to you, my intention to proceed, after visiting Meerut, Delhi, Agra, &c., by Neemuch and Mhow to the northern churches of your archdeaconry, and so on to Bombay, Poonah, and Sholapoor, in my way to Madras and the south of India. By this plan, I should probably arrive in Guzerat early in February, which you mention as a desirable season for travelling there, and should have all your archdeaconry before me in a straight course. The main difficulties would seem to be, 1st, that by so doing I must omit visiting Nagpoor, the most important station attached to the archdeaconry of Calcutta, and so remote from any usual line of route, that I should be obliged, if I visited it afterwards, to make a journey on purpose; 2dly, that I fear I should by this arrangement, be too long engaged in the visitation of Bombay, to make it possible for me to discharge the like duty to Madras; while this latter archdeaconry, which has not been visited for four years, might have some reason to complain, if Bombay, whose visitation was more recent, received the first attention. Under these circumstances, I am sometimes led to think of visiting the northern churches only of your archdeaconry, from Ahmedabad to Surat, proceeding thence homewards by Nagpoor, and reserving Madras and Bombay itself to another year, or at least a succeeding cold season. * *

" * * * You have managed admirably, I think, with regard to the deeds of trust for the new churches. Here government absolutely refused to give more than a written engagement that they would keep up the buildings consecrated 'to the service of God, according to the forms and discipline of the Church of England;' and with this, on the question being discussed at home, (whither Bishop Middleton had referred it,) it was determined that I might rest contented.

"I have just been disappointed by the non-arrival of two excellent men who were coming from Ceylon as candidates for orders—Mr. Armour, whom Bishop Middleton ordained deacon, and Christian David, a native Christian, whom he meant to have ordained, had he been satisfied as to his own powers. I had prevailed on the government of Ceylon to pay their passage hither and back again, when, unfortunately, Mr. Armour fell

sick, and poor David was afraid to come alone. They may, perhaps, meet me at Madras next year, but I am very sorry for the delay. Mr. Hawtayne is going to Allepee. He wished to reach New South Wales, but, owing to some recent regulations, the trade between that place and India is entirely at an end.

"I hope your long journeys are signs as well as causes of your continued vigorous health. I have not begun very well with my experiments on an Indian climate, my eyes being still very painful; and a fall from my horse, which I had some days ago, having produced effects on my general health, which in Europe I should never have anticipated. I am now writing with both legs poulticed, and on a stool. They tell me I diet myself too abstemiously; yet my health has been excellent till now, and my habits of life have not materially differed from what they were in England.

"I have, I think, written to you now '*de rebus omnibus.*' It is possible, that if I had paper and eye-sight left, I might still find out *quædam alia*, but at present I can only sign myself,

"Dear Mr. Archdeacon,

"Ever very truly your's,

"Reginald Calcutta."

To the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

Feb. 20, 1824.

"* * * I thank you for the kind and considerate manner in which you have consulted my interests and wishes, as well as my official usefulness, in the different clauses of the new act of parliament which relate to me. Nothing has, I think, been omitted which I could expect or had any reasonable ground of desiring; and I can safely say that the advantages conferred on me will give me so much the greater pleasure, inasmuch as I trace in them all your thoughtful and attentive kindness. All for which I am still anxious, is the arrival of the despatches which are to direct the local government both as to the sort of house which I am to have, and the sum which is to be allowed me for my visitations. *They* are ready and anxious

to serve me, and have done all in their power; but, notwithstanding this, my situation, *en attendant*, is, in some degree, anxious and precarious. I can get no tolerable house in Calcutta, except by purchase, or at an enormous rent of six hundred sicca rupees* per month, and at a lease of two years certain. And though government have themselves volunteered to make me a monthly allowance meantime, neither they nor I can well venture on such an engagement without further authority from home. I have, therefore, thus far, lived on in borrowed houses, inconveniently enough in some respects, and what is worst of all, my books remain packed, useless to me, and I fear taking injury from the place where they are stowed. Nor am I less in the dark respecting the aid which is to be afforded me in my approaching journey up the country, preparations for which I must, nevertheless, begin making. These are some of the inconveniences attendant on those, the secrets of whose destiny are committed to the winds and the waves.

"We both continue, on the whole, well-pleased with India, and look forward with increased interest to setting out for the upper provinces as soon as the rains begin to swell the Ganges, and before they are felt in Bengal. It was my intention to have started earlier, but we must, in that case, have halted somewhere during the months of hot wind; and I shall, probably, be more useful in Calcutta than I could have been at any of the small stations during so long a residence. Yet the claims of the interior of India, where no bishop has ever been, and where is a grievously scanty supply of clergy of any description, are very urgent and pressing; and I should be unjustifiable in postponing them any longer than is absolutely necessary.

"Have you seen any of the plans or designs of the wooden suspension bridges made by Mr. Shakespear, the post-master-general of Bengal? I will endeavour, lest you should not, to procure some for you. They are really very ingenious, and, in these countries, likely to constitute a new era in the history both of civil and military intercourse. They are strong enough; so light as to be portable, even when of a very considerable span,

* Sixty pounds English.

by the help of a few carts and elephants; may be constructed, taken down, and set up again in not many hours; and their materials are, in India, found almost every where."

To J. Phillimore, Esq. LL.D.

Tittyghur, Februrry 27, 1824.

"* * * The clergymen whom I have seen or corresponded with, are very respectable, and many of them intelligent and well-informed. I only wish there were many more of them in the country; but their paucity is really most grievous. The promised establishment of twenty-eight chaplains for this presidency (a very small one for a territory three times as extensive as Great Britain and Ireland) has never been completed. Even of those on the list, a large proportion are on furlough. Many very important stations are, at this moment, as effectually cut off from preaching and the sacraments, as if they were in the centre of China. * * * Even in Calcutta and the neighbouring stations, though some of the clergy officiate three times a day, and though I myself and the archdeacon work as hard and as regularly as any of 'the *labouring* clergy' (to use the modish phrase) in any part of the world, we could not get the ordinary Sunday duty done, without resorting to the aid of the missionaries. With these last I have good reason to be satisfied. They all cheerfully (such, of course, as are of the Church of England) have received licenses, and submitted themselves to my authority; they are, in fact, very respectable and pains-taking young men, who are doing far more in the way of converting and educating the natives than I expected, and are well-pleased to find themselves recognized as regular clergymen, and treated accordingly. * *

* * * * * *

"I feel that I owe both you and Wynn many and grateful thanks for the care and kindness with which you have attended to all my wishes, and provided for my official efficiency and personal comfort and welfare in the new act of parliament. Believe me, I shall always feel a pride in having shared your acquaintance and your good will. The despatches have not yet arrived,

which are necessary to enable government here to assign me a residence, and I have been, till now, under circumstances of considerable anxiety, living in borrowed houses. * * * I have, at length, engaged, from month to month, a house neither very good in itself, nor very conveniently situated; but as good as I have been able to obtain, without encumbering myself with a long lease or purchase. * * *

"I have never yet had a copy of my amended patent; if it is not already sent me, may I request you to give some directions about it, since, till I am able to quote it authoritatively, I can enter into no official communication with the clergy at the Mauritius and New Holland."

* * * * * *

To the Reverend Henry Davies, senior Chaplain at Bombay.

Calcutta, March 8, 1824.

"Reverend Sir,

"It gives me sincere pain to be again so soon obliged to address you in any thing like the language of disapprobation, but it is necessary for me to mention that, some time since, I observed in one of the Calcutta newspapers a paragraph (stated to be an advertisement copied from the Bombay Gazette, and bearing your signature) in which 'the honourable the governor in council,' was said to have granted, 'on the application of the senior chaplain,' the use of the honourable company's frigate 'Hastings,' for the purpose of divine service for European seamen in the port of Bombay, and in which you, as *senior chaplain*, gave public notification of your intention to have divine service on Sunday afternoon, &c.

"Surprised at the singularity of such a proceedure, in which I had not been consulted, nor the archdeacon of Bombay so much as mentioned, I wrote to Archdeacon Barnes for an explanation. He now informs me that the plan was, in the first instance, mentioned to him by the Reverend Mr. Carr; and that he acquiesced in it to the extent of abandoning a plan which he had himself previously formed for the attainment of the same object, desiring only that timely notice might be given to enable him to apply in the regular manner to government for the use

of the vessel. He tells me that you called on him on the 29th of November, when a similar conversation took place between you, but that half an hour after, he received an official letter from government, dated seven days before, in which the grant of a vessel was announced to him for this purpose, in consequence of your application. That, lastly, the advertisement which I have mentioned appeared in the Bombay Gazette, in which, as I have observed, no reference is had to me, or mention made of either the archdeacon, or your colleague Mr. Carr, who shares, as I understand, the duty in question with you.

"In commenting on this proceedure, I must distinctly premise that some such measure as the one in question, I esteem extremely desirable, and very highly approve the zeal which has led yourself and Mr. Carr to offer your voluntary services for the religious instruction of a class of men so interesting, and, unhappily, so often neglected, as the merchant seamen. But I am compelled to observe, that, for any chaplain or chaplains to make application to government, through any but the regular channel of the bishop or the archdeacon, is a conduct (unless prompted by a strong necessity, and properly explained as soon as possible) extremely disrespectful to the leading ecclesiastical authorities, extremely hostile to the principles of good order and church union, and contrary to all the recognized etiquette and courtesy which have hitherto been observed in India.

"To open any place of public worship without the license and approbation of the ordinary or his delegate, is no less contrary to the practice of the Church, and, indeed, to the general principles on which all ecclesiastical societies are conducted. No sect of Christians with which I am acquainted would allow a chapel to be set on foot by any of their ministers without the knowledge and concurrence of the persons by whom the affairs of their religious community are managed. And, by the canons and statute laws of England, such places of worship (unless avowedly dissenting chapels and licensed under the provisions of the toleration acts) are, in fact, conventicles, and render the persons who officiate in them liable to severe penalties, both spiritual and temporal.

"I am aware, indeed, that previous to your communication

with government, Archdeacon Barnes had been consulted by Mr. Carr. But this, in a certain degree, rather aggravates the irregularity of your conduct; since, if you knew that he was friendly to the measure, and ready to make, in the regular manner, the application to government which you wished,—the making that application yourself, without his knowledge and authority, was nothing else than a gratuitous insult,—and the assertion of a sort of independence, if not superiority, which it would be impossible in any service to tolerate in a junior officer while his senior was at hand; and which I cannot help saying, under the circumstances in which you then unfortunately stood with Archdeacon Barnes, it became you to have avoided with more than usual anxiety. Nor can I view your subsequent visit to the archdeacon, in which you neither offered any apology for what you had done, nor so much as told him of it, as at all calculated to weaken this unfavourable impression.

"I repeat that to the arrangement which you have adopted (provided no better arrangement can be found) I have not the least objection, and shall be happy as well as willing to sanction it. But it is absolutely necessary that the good which we do or attempt to do, should be done in concert with each other, and in subordination to the general principles of our ecclesiastical polity. You and your colleague will find ample scope (and by God's help you shall find as ample encouragement as it is in my power to give) for the most ardent zeal and the most indefatigable activity within the pale of the Church, and without in the least violating the rules of her union and discipline. But a needless neglect of those rules can only bring discredit and difficulty on the cause of our general faith, and of the establishment, for the preservation of which I am persuaded you are sincerely anxious. Nor can I conceive any thing which more completely than the opening of a new place of worship, corresponds with that description of things which χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου μὴ δεῖ ποιεῖν.

"In future, then, I must beg that it may be generally understood, both by yourself and your colleague, that no chapel or place of public worship can be opened without the concurrence and consent of the bishop, or, in his absence, of the archdea-

con ; that no applications are to be made to government through any channel but them ; and that it is very desirable that every suggestion of new duties or new means of doing good which may occur to particular clergymen, should be, in the first instance, communicated to the heads of the Church, for their sanction, or, at least, their permission. To the archdeacon, as nearest, such applications ought, of course, to be in the first instance made. Should he refuse, an appeal will still lie to me ; nor can we either of us have any conceivable motives for cramping or thwarting the zeal and activity of our brethren.

"I have written to Archdeacon Barnes, requesting him to ascertain the expediency of either continuing the present, or substituting some other mode of religious instruction for the seamen. In the meantime, and till you receive further directions from him, it is my wish that you and Mr. Carr should continue your present useful and meritorious labours. For those labours and the spirit which prompts them I have a sincere respect and value ; and it is only to the end that they may be rendered more effectual, by the concurrence and aid of other clergymen, by the general union and prosperity of the Church, and by the blessings of Him who is the God of order and of peace, that I have thought it necessary thus to address you.

"I remain, Reverend Sir,

"Your friend and servant in Christ,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Calcutta, March 10, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Enclosed I send a copy of a letter, which I have addressed to Mr. Davies. * * * * * * I have preferred this method of reproving him, both because it enabled me to express my sentiments more fully, and because I was unwilling, without necessity, to saddle you with an ungracious office. With regard to the government of Bombay, you seem to have yourself already done all which is necessary, or, at present, desirable, in obtaining an explanation from them, and establishing such a mutual understanding as will prevent their

receiving such irregular applications in future. Two instances of this kind have occurred since my arrival here; in both, however, government referred the application to me.

"With regard to the measures hereafter to be pursued for the religious instruction of the seamen, you will perceive, by the enclosed letter, that I have referred their arrangement entirely to yourself, and directed Messrs. Davies and Carr to receive their orders on the subject from you. I am sure I need not express my hope, that those directions will be communicated in the most conciliating manner; and that you will be careful not to risk the discontinuance of the present system, before you have something preferable to put in its room. I understand that a *floating* place of worship is really most congenial to the feelings of seamen, and the wishes of their employers; and you will, I apprehend, find reason to prefer the frigate, as at present arranged, to any apartment which you can obtain in the dock-yard. The best hour for their attendance is a more difficult problem; seamen have often early in the morning a great deal of dirty and hard work in washing the deck, &c., which is, perhaps, likely to prevent a full attendance at the hour you mention. Six or seven in the evening is the time when they are most at leisure, and when the heat does not operate (as it may often do at four) to keep them away from the place of worship. But there may be difficulties from darkness, grog, and other considerations, which will considerably perplex your choice; probably it may be better to get the opinion of one or two captains. Whatever is determined on, it will be desirable that the place should be licensed.

"I received with much interest the application respecting the new churches; they and the chaplains shall be attended to at the same time, and as soon as I have heard from you in answer to my letter respecting the latter. * * * *

"You will, long ere this reaches you, have been made acquainted with the plan, so far as it is arranged, of my approaching tour, and the difficulties which oppose my reaching your archdeaconry. I cannot, however, refrain from returning you my very sincere thanks for your gratifying and truly friendly offer to accompany me during the visitation. It would, indeed, be

a great satisfaction to me to have, for so long together, and in scenes so interesting, the pleasure and advantage of your company. My chaplain, however, is, I have reason to hope, already arrived at Madras; and Mr. Corrie had, some time since, expressed an earnest wish to go with me through the greater part, at least, of this archdeaconry. That we may meet in the west, and see, at least, some parts of India together, I should be sorry to give up the hope.

"Adieu, my dear Sir;

"Believe me ever most truly your's,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes,

Chowringhee, May 12, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,

* * * * * * *

"I now send you Mr. Davies' letter, in which he takes, as you will see, much the same line of defence which you anticipated he would do. You will observe, however, that he submits his future proceedings to the direction of his superiors; and it will, therefore, be for you to determine what is the best plan to pursue, during the absence of the 'Hastings,' for supplying the spiritual wants of the seamen. If there is any other vessel which would serve the purpose, it may be desirable for you to make an application for its use; or, otherwise, to resume your original plan of a shed, or other place for meeting, on the island of Colabah.

"What were the regulations of Bishop Middleton to which Mr. Davies alludes, assigning to his care the crew of the vessels in the river? If such a regulation were really made, it would be desirable to offer the place of preacher to him in the first instance; and, at all events, it will be a very desirable, and, in you, a very graceful piece of courtesy, to communicate to him whatever plan you think it best to lay before government.

"To Mr. Carr pray convey the expression of my entire confidence (founded on what you have said) in his being guiltless of all intentional offence against ecclesiastical authority or de-

corum, together with my good wishes, and the pleasure with which I look forward to becoming acquainted with him. * * * * You have not yet sent me your wishes as to the application which I am to make on your behalf to the board of controul. I am anxious, on more accounts than one, to put on record, in an official manner, my opinion (founded on the general view of Christian India) of your character and indefatigable services. But though your pension is, of course, certain, I wish I had equally good hopes of your obtaining the compensation which you have a natural right to expect for your toilsome and expensive journeys. Nor do I exactly know to whom the application is to be made, inasmuch as the supreme government, I am almost convinced, will not interfere, even if they are authorized to do so. To the board of controul I can and will state the case strongly, but I have little hope from them.

"I was much pleased with your plan for the institution of a committee for the propagation of the Gospel, except that I still doubt whether it would not have an injurious effect on the funds of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in which doubt Mr. Mill agrees with me. Before the matter goes further I should wish to communicate with Mr. Hawtayne, who, as secretary, knows more of our affairs than any person in India. All I know is, that we are now very poor, owing to the greatness of our disbursements, and that, instead of being able to diminish the amount of our subscriptions, we have just made an application to our members for an increase.

"The question about countersigning the chaplains' licenses is really a difficult one. In a few days, however, I hope to send you the result of my meditations and inquiries. Thank you very much for paying my subscription to the education society. Your best plan, I am assured, of receiving payment, is to draw on me for the amount. I cannot remit money to Bombay without a heavy loss.

"Believe me, dear sir,

"Ever your faithful and obedient servant,

"Reginald Calcutta."

To the Rev. Principal Mill.

June 11, 1824.

" * * * I am sincerely glad that you agree with me respecting the publication of Christian David's sermons at this moment. I was much pleased that he preached, and preached well, at the Old Church ; but I think the matter had better stop there. Nothing could be kinder, or more amiable, than our friend Dr. Parish's eagerness in the good cause ; but I am happy to hear that he, on recollection, agrees with my view of the policy of not drawing too much attention to our proceedings. Pray say all which is kind from me to Christian David, whom I was far from suspecting of any thing pushing or ambitious. It gives me much pleasure to learn that you can be one of his spiritual fathers on Sunday. *Feliciter vertat.* Bowley and Abdul Musseeh may, perhaps, be the next. I need not, I know, request your prayers, and those of your society, for our Church at this season.

" Believe me, my dear Sir,

" Ever your sincere friend,

" Reginald Calcutta."

Soon after the bishop's arrival in India, he was appointed one of the vice presidents of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. He was prevented, by his more important duties, from taking the active part in their proceedings, to which the interest he felt in their researches would have prompted him ; but he attended their meetings whenever it was in his power. The present device of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the banyan tree, with its motto, " *Quot rami tot arbores,*" was suggested to Mr. W. Wynn, by the bishop. An affecting allusion to this circumstance was made at a recent meeting of this society, by Mr. Wynn, when he observed that the late union of some of the Indian branches of the society with their parent tree, was a practical illustration of the motto.

The scarcity of chaplains in the Bengal presidency, and the bad health of some of those who were resident in Calcutta,

made the bishop feel it necessary to perform, himself, as much or more duty than he had been accustomed to do in England. On one Sunday, some weeks after his arrival, he wrote two sermons; preached twice in the cathedral; baptized a child in the fort; and read through, and commented on a large packet of papers on ecclesiastical business. The unfortunate detention of the ship which contained nearly all his manuscript sermons, added much to the pressure of business in which he was involved; inasmuch as he generally had to compose one whenever he preached. But though he frequently went to bed exhausted with the labours of the day, to which were added the demands upon his time and attention which the common civilities of life require, and which were the more cheerfully complied with, as he felt that his influence among the higher ranks of society in Calcutta increased, the more familiarly he associated with them, he seldom could be persuaded to relax from the rules he had prescribed to himself, so soon as he became acquainted with the state of the Church in India, and in which he persisted with rather augmenting than decreasing diligence to the last. And this too in a climate which more particularly indisposes men to exertion of any kind, whether mental or bodily; and where the constant exhaustion during the greater part of the year is such, as no one, except from experience, can picture to himself. The bishop thus describes the heat. "It is impossible to sit still under the most favourable circumstances, without streaming with perspiration; our windows are all close shut up, and our rooms darkened to keep out the hot and molten atmosphere, which streams in wherever it can find an entrance, like the breath of a huge blast furnace." Often has the editor earnestly requested him to spare himself, when, on descending from the pulpit she saw him almost unable to speak from exhaustion; or when, after a few hours rest at night, he would rise at four o'clock to attend a meeting, or visit a school, and then pass the whole of the day, till sunset, in mental labour, without allowing himself the hour's mid-day sleep in which the most active generally indulge. To such remonstrances he would answer, that these things were necessary to be done; and that the more

zealous he was in the discharge of his own duties, he could, with the greater justice, urge activity on such of his clergy as he might deem deficient.

The applications for resident chaplains from the inhabitants of many of the principal stations, which the bishop received, occasioned him much painful uneasiness; they were but too generally such as he had it not in his power to flatter with the least hope of receiving a favourable answer from government, though he never failed to lay them before the proper authorities in as earnest a manner as possible, nor to state their requests at home. The greater number of the company's chaplains are licensed to districts, separated from each other by large tracts of country, containing a considerable number of Europeans, who are either entirely debarred from the ordinances of their religion, or obliged to take long and expensive journeys to the nearest station of a resident clergyman. From six stations within the presidency of Fort William, the bishop received, during his visitation, most pressing demands for resident missionaries, with an assurance that every assistance and encouragement would be given them, while to only two or three was he able to assign even the occasional services of the nearest chaplain.

When the bishop landed in Bengal, he took the office of president of the Diocesan Committee of the Christian Knowledge Society, established in Calcutta; the native schools, and the various branches of the Society's labours in that city, shared, in common with the other religious societies, much of his time and exertion; and, as will be hereafter seen, the interests of their missions powerfully engrossed his attention during his last visitation of the southern provinces of the continent of India.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Bishop leaves Calcutta—Letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel on the state of Bishop's College—Mr. Christian—The Bishop leaves Dacca—Letter from the Protopapas of the Greeks—Licensing Chaplains—The Puharrees—Letter from Mr. Christian—His death—Epidemic Fever in Calcutta—The Bishop's Entrance into Benares—Letter from Mr. Norman Macleod—Population of the Banks of the Ganges—Chunar—Missionary Establishment at Chinsurah—Extracts from Mr. J. Lushington's Journal—Sonnet. 1824.

On the 15th of June, the bishop began his extensive visitation, unaccompanied save by his domestic chaplain and his native servants. The demand for medical men occasioned by the Burmese war was so great, that the bishop was deterred, by the representation of one of the members of government, from publicly requesting that a surgeon should be appointed to attend him. But the editor had, subsequently, the mortification of learning, that such a demand would have been complied with had it been made in the highest quarter; and this unfortunate error not only deprived her of the pleasure of accompanying her husband, which she would have done, if medical assistance had always been within her reach, but laid the foundation of those various delays which, commencing at Dacca, in the illness and death of Mr. Stowe, caused his departure for Madras to be delayed till the advance of the hot season rendered it imprudent for a European to travel in the southern provinces.

"We set out," he writes to a friend, "attended by two smaller boats of very rude construction, with thatched cabins and huge masts and yards of bamboo, something like the canoes of the Friendly Islands, as Cook has represented them. One

of these is a cooking-boat, the other for our luggage and servants; and it may give some idea of the number of hands employed in Bengal for all purposes, when I tell you that twelve servants are thought a very moderate travelling establishment for myself and a single friend; and that the number of boatmen for the three vessels amounts, I believe, to thirty-two. We are, indeed, obliged to carry every thing with us, even to milch goats, supplies being seldom to be procured in the line of country through which we have to travel. Our diet must, therefore, have been salt meat and poultry, had not a few instances of fair dealing with the fishermen procured us an almost daily supply of their commodities. I was surprised to see many of these poor men paddle away at our approach as fast as their canoes could carry them; but learned soon after, from the complaint of one of their number, that the servants and boatmen of 'great men' were apt to take their fish by force and without paying for them. This I easily prevented; but these and some other abuses of the same kind, which even my imperfect knowledge of the language enabled me to detect, show how prone these people are to plunder and tyrannize over each other, and how much odium may be unknowingly incurred by Europeans through the rascality of their followers.

"Our way was through the heart of Lower Bengal, by the Matabunga, the Chundna, and those other branches of the Ganges which make so tortuous a labyrinth in Rennell's map. The Sunderbunds would have been a nearer course; but this was pleasanter, and showed us more of the country, which along the whole line of the river was fertile, well cultivated and verdant to a great degree, and sometimes really beautiful. The banks are generally covered with indigo, and beyond are wide fields of rice or pasture, with villages, each under a thicket of glorious trees, banyans, palms, plantains, and bamboos; and though we here and there passed woods of a wilder character, their extent did not seem to be more than in one of our English counties. The villages are all of mud and bamboos, the roofs arched like the bottom of a boat, to prevent their pliable supporters from bending in a contrary direction, and both the country, the houses, the boats and the people are, on the whole, of a

better description than any thing in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta.

"Our little fleet unmoored early, and brought-to for the night about six; after which we generally contrived to get a pleasant walk, and to see more, by far, of the country and the people than we could have done in many months spent in Calcutta. The general impression made on my mind was, certainly, that of prosperity and good government; and perhaps it was, in a certain sense, an indication of both these, that the peasants, such of them as spoke Hindoostance, were rather forward to speak of their grievances, and grumble about the 'times' in much the same with English cottagers. Their complaints were all of the same character,—the dearness of rice, the rise of rents, and the burthen of tolls and local taxes. I believe, indeed, that in all these respects they have some reason to complain. The famine in Madras, and our expedition to Rangoon, have contributed materially to drain Bengal, and Lord Cornwallis's famous settlement is said to have left the ryut too much at the mercy of the zemindar. As for the tolls, the East India Company have generously given up their whole proceeds to the internal improvement of the districts where they are levied. Nor do their rates seem high to an Englishman. But the generosity of the Company does not seem known or understood; while these rates are collected by native officers on the necessaries of life, as they are taken to market, with very considerable extortion and injustice. Except on account of the local taxes, I could not find that they had any quarrel with government; and with the exception of the fishermen, I found nobody either afraid of, or averse to, the presence or conversation of a European. A wonderful change seems to have taken place in this respect, which, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, I have heard attributed to the missionaries and their schools. But in the districts of which I am speaking, there are neither the one nor the other; and I know no cause for it but the general good conduct and good temper of the Company's servants in the situation of Mofussil magistrates, who, certainly, by all which I have seen, are generally actuated by right feelings, and display in their diligence, patience, and modesty of appearance and demeanour, a very dif-

ferent picture from that which is often drawn of the manner in which fortunes are made, and men governed in India.

To the Rev. Anthony Hamilton, Secretary to the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Chundna River, June 23, 1824.

"REVEREND SIR,

"I am happy to acknowledge the safe arrival of the library and communion plate,* destined for Bishop's College, as well as of Mr. Townsend, the printer, and his necessary stores; also of your obliging letter, bearing date August 27, 1823, and the power of attorney. For all these I should have taken an earlier opportunity of offering my thanks to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, had not they arrived when I was much occupied in preparing for my primary visitation in the cathedral, as well as for the journey in which I am now engaged, and which it is my purpose, by God's blessing, to pursue through the greater part of this diocese. I had, indeed, other cares of a more melancholy description, in the duties which I owed to the sick bed, the remains, the widow and child of my excellent and lamented friend, the chief justice; while I was looking forward also to a long and dismal separation from my own wife and children, whose health has been considered as unequal to the journey before me. Under these circumstances, I trust the Society will not think me culpably remiss in allowing the 'Paget' to leave India without writing by her.

"Previous to the receipt of your letter, and of the powers conveyed personally to me as the Society's attorney, I had found it necessary to exercise many of those powers as successor to their late attorney in the see of Calcutta. The dividends, however, on the 6000*l.*, which Mr. Wood, the accountant general, will have informed you have been duly received and vested in the honourable Company's securities, have not yet become payable, so that the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of the college have been hitherto defrayed from a balance of 16,546 sicca rupees, transferred to me on my arrival in Calcutta, by the

* The gift of Mrs. Middleton.—ED.

Reverend Principal Mill ; from a collection made in St. James's church, after a sermon by the Reverend Mr. Hawtayne, of of 475 sicca rupees, and from other sums received from the Bible Society, in part of their grant to the college. These latter sums, indeed, are in strictness, appropriated to translations of Scripture into the native languages of India, one of which, the Old Testament into Persian, is proceeding under the happiest auspices, in the hands of the Reverend Mr. Robinson, chaplain at Poonah ; but in the necessity of the case (of which sufficient proof will soon be furnished) I judged it allowable to borrow from these funds, in the well grounded confidence of being able to replace whatever sums I thus applied, from the promised grant of a thousand pounds sterling from the Church Missionary Society, which, in fact, I understood was paid, at the time of my departure from Calcutta, to the Society's account in the bank of Bengal.

"Of the disbursements, by far the most considerable are the sums advanced to Captain Hutchinson, of the honourable company's engineers, on account of the college buildings. The very large sums paid on this account, as well as the yet unfinished state of the buildings, will, I fear, excite much surprise, if not dissatisfaction on the part of the Society. To me they have been sources of great and continual uneasiness ; and the more so, because I had expected to find, on my arrival in India, the establishment, if not in activity, at least in a fit state to receive the books, the printing press, and the missionaries who were to follow me. Instead of this, I found it a mere shell, of elegant architecture, but without offices of any kind, in the midst of a wilderness of high grass, creeping shrubs, and stagnant pools, which were supposed in Calcutta, to hold out a very dismal prospect to the health of all who might venture to become its inhabitants. My mortification was increased to find that none of the circumstances yet necessary to complete and render the building habitable, had been included in the estimate furnished to Bishop Middleton ; that a set of Venetian blinds which had been furnished for the whole college, had turned out inapplicable and useless ; and that no successful and creditable termination of the work could be anticipated, without a large and continued advance of money.

"Much of this is to be accounted for by the unfortunate choice of the architect, who, though a man of some reputation in Calcutta, was merely accustomed to the routine style of building usual there, and unfit, both in talent and education, to make provision for the numerous incidental expenses and hindrances inseparable from such a building as bishop's college. My distinguished and excellent predecessor appears to have been himself obliged to give instructions in many matters, not only of taste, but of detail, down to the act of teaching his workmen to describe a common Gothic arch. Nor can the solidity and beauty of the fabric as it now stands, be witnessed without an increased respect for those talents which were thus called forth in a field very foreign to their usual direction. Still many faults occurred which, when the management was transferred to Captain Hutchinson, Bishop Middleton was anxious to repair; and no small part of those funds, to which the latter had, probably, looked forward for the external improvements of the situation, were exhausted in correcting errours and recovering lost ground.

"To account for the slow progress which had been made, it would, perhaps, be sufficient to mention that, since undertaking the college, Captain Hutchinson had been employed by government in several other public buildings, which inevitably prevented his giving to this establishment so much attention as had been expected from him. But, in truth, every work of the kind in India is, and must be, tedious to a degree which, in Europe, may be hardly credible. No carpenter or bricklayer here will come to his labour before eight or nine o'clock, or continue it after four in the afternoon. During those few hours, though not deficient either in neatness or dexterity, he is neither strong, nor diligent, nor trustworthy. And this usual trifling and careless style of workmanship is aggravated, when the work in which he is engaged is of a novel kind; and when the national reluctance to depart from established modes is added to his habitual idlenesss and inattention; while, at the same time, his poverty renders it impossible for him to undertake or proceed in any thing, unless assisted by before-hand payments. Under such circumstances it was with real difficulty, and after many earnest

remonstrances, both from the principal and myself, that the former was enabled, last Christmas, to take possession of his lodging. And I can assure you, that it required no inconsiderable exertion of fortitude and zeal, both in himself and his newly married lady, to remove themselves, even at the best season of the year, to a scene so lonely and unpromising.

"Since that time the progress of the work, if not more rapid, has been more perceptible. The ground has been cleared and drained, the pools filled up, walks of pounded brick constructed round the quadrangle and to the river; the offices are finished, and the dwellings for the native teachers and the printer are in some degree of advancement. The rooms are to a certain extent, furnished. The library, which is a very beautiful apartment has received, and shows to great advantage, the books which it owes to the munificence of your society, and some other benefactors, among whom the principal himself is most conspicuous. And it was with no common emotion that I first heard a well-toned bell calling, amid those teak and coco-nut trees, the inmates of the building to morning prayers, though unfortunately not in the Chapel. The latter is still empty and unglazed; the wood-work of the stalls has been for some time under the workmen's hands; but from such hands no speedy result can be expected. The hall is sufficiently furnished for the present number of its inmates; but its walls have a naked and unadorned appearance, which may, perhaps, be one day removed by a portrait of the distinguished and excellent prelate who designed it. The printing press is setting up in one of the lower apartments of the east wing. A separate building would be now most desirable, and will, ere long, be absolutely necessary; but our funds are, at present, unequal to such an undertaking. The organ is, for the present, in one of the recesses of the library.

"With regard to the expense incurred, I beg leave to assure the incorporated society that no single item has been allowed by me, which both the principal and I have not agreed in thinking absolutely necessary, or respecting the usual price of which, I have not obtained the best information in my power. Captain Hutchinson, whose character is unimpeached as a man of

honour and talent, has, by an arrangement at once advantageous to the society, and which prevents his deriving any advantage from past or future delay, consented to receive a poundage of fifteen per cent., instead of the monthly allowance of five hundred sicca rupees which Bishop Middleton agreed to pay him. And it is only fair to him and to ourselves to state, that the excess of the expenditure over the original estimate has arisen, not on the works which that estimate comprised, but on others which, in all reason, it ought to have specified. It will be observed, however, that the chapel furniture, glazing, and wainscotting, are still unpaid for; that the whole of the grant of which I have any positive assurance from the Church Missionary Society will be exhausted in supplying these demands, and in replacing the sum borrowed from the translators' fund; that a very heavy monthly payment is required for the teachers, servants, boatmen, medical attendants, and table expenses of the college; and I trust, therefore, that for the present, and until our affairs are in a more prosperous condition, the incorporated society will suffer their college to remain their debtor for the five hundred pounds, which have been advanced by them for the payment of the printing apparatus.

"In speaking of boatmen, it is necessary to observe, that two boats and twelve boatmen are rendered indispensable by the situation of the college beyond the river, and at a considerable distance from Calcutta. One of them is for marketing, the other for the conveyance of the visiter, as well as the principal tutors, and other inmates of the college. Three boats had been directed by Bishop Middleton, one for the exclusive use of the visiter. But on conference with the principal, it appeared to us both that this expense might be spared; and the readiness with which he has always accommodated me with the use of the college boat, has left me no reason to regret the determination.

"The college now contains two students on the foundation of the Incorporated Society; a third on the foundation of the Society for the Promoting Christian Knowledge, and from the archdeaconry of Madras; and a fourth, a non-foundation student, supported, and to be paid for, by the diocesan committee of the Church Missionary Society. The Reverend Christian

David, long a native catechist, in the employ of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and lately ordained by me deacon and priest, as one of the colonial chaplains of his majesty's government of Ceylon, has been an inmate within its walls during the time of his residence within this archdeaconry. The Reverend Mr. Tweddle, one of the incorporated society's missionaries, is prosecuting his studies there also; and the printer is, as a matter of necessity, admitted on the same footing.

"To apportion the different ratios in which each of these is to contribute to the table expenses, has been found, in this country, a task more difficult than might have been expected. All which has yet been done, is to keep these expenses down to the most modest and frugal scale; but I trust that the degree of experience which has been already acquired, may enable the principal, assisted by the local knowledge of the college *dewan*, or steward, an intelligent native, who filled the same situation with Bishop Middleton and with the two late chief justices, to make such an arrangement as will at once be just and satisfactory.

"In reverting from the expenses incurred to the effects produced, I am happy to be able to speak in terms of decided approbation. The college is itself a beautiful object, in a singularly picturesque and sequestered scene The experience of the past months gives reason to hope that, as a dwelling in this climate, it will be more healthy and commodious than its arrangement and situation led many to anticipate. And above all, it is already in active and efficient usefulness as a place of oriental, classical, and Christian education, in which its excellent principal, though labouring single-handed, is labouring with a patience and persevering ability, which, to be duly appreciated, must be witnessed. Both he and I, however, look forward with anxious earnestness to the arrival of one, if not both of the professors who are to share in his toils. It will be impossible, as the business of the college continues to increase, that the principal can long continue, as he now does, to do all. And in the event of his illness or death (and in this climate, of all others, we can never witness eminent talent or virtue, without recollecting how soon and suddenly it may be taken from us,) I cannot contemplate without very painful apprehension,

the consequences which must follow to the institution, of which he is the single pillar, and which at present holds forth so hopeful a prospect of utility and blessing.

"The society's two elder missionaries, Mr. Christian and Mr. Morton are employed, I believe most usefully, and I trust in a manner not contrary to the society's intentions, in superintending two excellent circles of Bengalee schools, supported by the diocesan committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. They are both men of good talents and much zeal and diligence. Mr. Christian, more particularly, is every thing as I conceive, which a missionary ought to be; devoted to, and delighting in his work; endearing himself to the natives by his kind, condescending, and cheerful disposition; and to his countrymen and brother clergy, by his modesty and propriety, both of behaviour and doctrine. Of Mr. Morton I can also speak very favourably. To him I have ventured to make an advance on the part of the society, which I feel will require some explanation, of six hundred sicca rupees, to pay the price of a small carriage and horse. Without such an aid, in this climate and in his situation, no missionary could either visit the schools, many of which lie at a considerable distance from his house, in a very deep and miry country, or make himself generally known and useful among the natives. And Mr. Morton's large family, with the addition of a severe illness which afflicted both his wife and himself during the spring, made it impossible for him to purchase such a convenience out of his own funds. I will, however, cheerfully replace the money, should the society, under all circumstances, think the grant unnecessary, or the precedent likely to be injurious.

* * * * * * *

"I will only add my sincere good wishes and prayers for the continual welfare and usefulness of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

At Dacca, as the bishop relates in his journal,* he lost his

* Bishop Heber's "Journal in India," vol. i. p. 148, 8vo. edit.; p. 151, 12mo. edit. Philadelphia.

companion and friend, Mr. Stowe, after a fortnight's illness, during which time, though far from well himself, he nursed him with all the tenderness and affection of a brother. His private book of devotion contains the following affecting prayer :—

"*July* 22, 1824.—On leaving Dacca. Oh merciful and mighty Lord, who hast been pleased, in Thy fatherly wisdom, to afflict me, by taking from my side a faithful and affectionate friend, I meekly give Thee thanks for that Thou hast enabled him to depart in the fear and love of Thy Holy Name, and in a comfortable hope through the merits of our great Redeemer! Grant, I beseech Thee, that the impression made on me by his humility, his self-condemnation, his penitence, his fears, and his final trust in Thy mercy, may not be suffered to fade from my mind, but may work in me that true and timely repentance of my own sins, which only can save my death bed from intolerable agony, and my soul from a worse hereafter. And the more I am deprived of earthly friends, teach me, O God, to cling the more to Thee! The more I am alone, be Thou the more with me, that I may feel continually Thy love and presence here, and dwell with thee to everlasting ages hereafter, as my hope is Thy departed servant shall, through Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen!"

While the bishop was at Dacca, he received the following letter,* from the protopapas of the Greeks, resident in Calcutta, to whom he had frequently shown civility, and who had been much gratified by being asked to meet the English clergy at dinner on the day of the bishop's visitation, together with the archimandrite of the Armenians, and some of their inferior monks.

Τῷ πανιερολογιωτάτῳ καὶ σεβασμιωτάτῳ μοι δεσπότῃ, τῷ κατὰ Πνευμα μοι Πατρὶ, Κυρίῳ Κῷ
Ρεγινάλδῳ Επισκόπῳ Καλκουτταιῳ.
Προσκυνη.

Την ὑμετέραν πανιερολογιότητα ταπεινῶς προσκυνῶ, ἀσπαζόμενος εὐλαβως την σεβασμιαν μοι ἀυτῆς δεξιὰν.

* For the translation of this letter the editor is indebted to the Rev. H. D. Leeves, agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society, for the dispersion of the Scriptures in the Mediterranean; who returned, in 1829, to Corfu, with the additional view of forwarding a system of education already commenced in the Ionian Islands.

Ἡ ἐντεῦθεν ἀναχωρησις της σης μοι σεβασμιας κεφαλης, δεσποτα μου πανιερολογιωτατε μοι, επροξενησεν ἄλγος επ' αλγει καὶ ἀσθένειαν επ' ασθενειᾳ· δια τουτο και δεομαι τῶν σων ευχῶν των ἐθάδων τοῦ δυσωπειν τόν θεον.

Ὁ ἐπιφέρων το ταπεινον μου γραμμα ἔστιν ὁ Ιερος της εν Δακκα Ἑλληνικῆς εκκλησιας, τουνομα Βενιαμην, κατα την εκκλησιαστικην αξιαν ονομαζεται αρχιμανδριτης. Ιδοις δ' αν αυτον ευμενέσιν ὀφθαλμοις, ὁμοιως και τους ὁμογενεις μου ἁπαντας· ερρωμενως διαβιωῃς και ἐυδαιμονῶν, Πατερ σεβασμιωτατε μοι.

Ὁ σος δοῦλος, Ὁ Πρωτωπαπας,

Διονυσιος Γεωργιου.

Ὁ λειτουργος ἱερευς της εν Καλκουττῃ εκκλησιας Κυρ. Αμβροσιος προσφερει δ' εμου τὰς ταπειας προσκυνησεις, ὁμοιως και ὁ Κυρ. Ιζιαν Λοῦκας, και ὁ Κυρ. Κστ. Πανταζῆς, τῃ σῃ μοι πανιερολογιοτητι.

Εν Καλκουττῃ,

Τῃ 8ῃ του Ιουλιου, 1824.

To the Most Learned and Reverend Lord, my Spiritual Father, Lord Reginald, Bishop of Calcutta. With respectful salutations.

I humbly salute your learned and reverend person, respectfully embracing your venerable right hand.

The departure from hence of your by me venerated head, my learned and Reverend Lord, occasioned sorrow upon sorrow, and infirmity upon infirmity, wherefore I entreat your prayers, which are accustomed to propitiate God.

The bearer of my humble letter is the priest of the Greek church in Dacca, Benjamin by name; in ecclesiastical rank he has the title of archimandrite. May you behold him with favourable eyes, and in like manner all my compatriots. May you pass through life in health and prosperity, my most venerable father.

Your Servant,

the Protopapas

Dionysius Georgius.

The priest who ministers in the church at Calcutta, presents, through me, humble salutations; as do, in like manner, Mr. John Lucas and Mr. Constantine Pantazes, to your reverend and learned person.

In Calcutta,

the 8th of July, 1824.

To Augustus W. Hare, Esq.

Delaserry River, near Dacca, July 22d, 1824.

"My Dear Augustus,

"Little did I anticipate, when we parted, with how heavy a heart I should commence what (I am almost ashamed to say) is my first letter to you. We have lost poor Stowe! He set out with me five weeks since, on my visitation, leaving his sister with Emily and her children, who were dissuaded by our medical advisers from accompanying me in my formidable journey,

but whom we hoped to meet at Bombay, whither they were to proceed by sea, while we pursued our way across the continent through Rajpootana and Malwah. Stowe had been seriously unwell in Calcutta, of something like a dysentery; but it was anticipated by every body, that a sail of three months on the Ganges and a subsequent journey in a cooler climate would be of the most essential service to him; and he was not only permitted, but strongly advised by Dr. Abel to accompany me. These favourable expectations seemed verified by the experience of our first fortnight. The cool breezes of the river seemed to revive him most effectually, and his spirits, strength, and appetite increased perceptibly; while he took a daily increasing interest in the wild and sequestered, but luxuriant and beautiful scenes through which we passed, while threading the great delta of the Ganges in our way to Dacca. Unhappily, as his strength returned, he became less cautious; he one evening, particularly, exposed himself to the sun, while yet high, and to the worst miasma which this land of death affords, by running into a marsh after some wild ducks. From that time his disorder returned, and he reached Dacca on the fifth of this month, so weak and exhausted as to be carried from the boat to the bedroom prepared for him. The means of cure usually employed were tried without success, inasmuch as, why I could not learn, mercury took little or no hold on his constitution. He struggled, however, against the complaint with a strength which surprised both myself and his medical attendants, and which long flattered us, alas! with a delusive hope of his recovery. During the three last days of his life he was sensible of his approaching end, and, I trust, I shall never forget the earnestness of his prayers; the severity and deep contrition with which he scrutinized all the course of his (surely) innocent and useful life; the deep humility and self-abasement with which he cast himself on God's mercy through Christ; or the blessed and still brightening hope which, after his first mental struggle was over, it pleased his gracious Master to grant him. He sent his love to you, with a request that all his papers might be sent to you 'to do what you thought best with them.' * * *

He often named his 'poor sister,' recommending her to Emily's

care and mine. But all the rest of his time was occupied in praying, with me, or mentally, and in listening to different texts of Scripture, which he took great delight in my reading to him. 'God,' he said on Friday evening, 'God and His dear Son are mercifully making this passage more and more easy to me.' He slept very little, being disturbed by constant spasms. Laudanum was resorted to; but this, without removing the symptoms of his complaint, clouded his head and gave him evil dreams; and he earnestly begged of me not to let them give him any more. At length, in the course of Saturday, a slight wandering of intellect came on, though he never ceased to know me, and to express uneasiness, if, by an alteration of position or any other cause, he for a moment lost sight of me. His end was now visibly fast approaching, and his face had assumed that unequivocal character which belongs to the dying. * * *

* * * Some violent but short spasms succeeded; after which he sunk into a calm slumber, and a few minutes after twelve literally breathed his last without a groan or struggle. I myself closed his eyes, and, with the help of a surgeon, (whom, in the forlorn hope of some favourable turn taking place, I had got to remain in the house for the three last nights,) 'composed his decent limbs.' It was necessary that we should do so, since the superstition of the wretched people round us made them fly the room as soon as a corpse was in it. He was buried in the evening of the next day (Sunday the 18th,) in the cemetery of the station, which, that day week, I had consecrated. A wild and dismal place it is as ever Christian laid his bones in, at about a mile's distance from the inhabited part of Dacca, but surrounded by ruins and jungle, and containing several tall ruinous tombs of former residents, in the days when the commerce of this province was the most important in India. Some of these have been very handsome, but all are now dilapidated, and overgrown with ivy and the wild fig tree. There is, however, a high wall with an old Moorish gateway, which protects the graves effectually from the jackalls; and I have given directions for a plain monument to be erected over my poor friend. His illness—his youth—his amiable manners with the few in Dacca who saw him, and his general character, excited a

great sensation in the place. Inquiries after him came every day, with presents of fruit and offers of books, which might elucidate his distemper or amuse him; and he received similar marks of attention and interest, not only from the English residents, but from the nawâb, from the principal zemindar of the neighbourhood, and from the Armenian bishops of Ecmiazin and Jerusalem, whom I met here, engaged in a still larger visitation than my own, of the different churches of their communion in Persia and India. All the English residents and the officers from the military lines, with a detachment of artillerymen, came unsolicited to the funeral. * * * * * * We were the guests of Mr. Masters, the principal judge, whose nephew you may have known at Baliol; and from him, more particularly, and from Mr. Mitford, the junior judge, brother to my friend, Mitford of Oriel, we received daily and unwearied kindness. Mrs. Mitford, on finding that poor Miss Stowe thought of setting off for Dacca to nurse her brother, not only wrote to ask her to their house, but offered to accelerate a journey which Mr. Mitford and she were meditating to Calcutta, in order to take care of her in her dismal homeward voyage.

"I trust, however, that my letters would arrive in time to stop her; and lest they should not have done so, I am now diverging from the great stream which is my direct course towards Patna, in order to ascertain whether she has really set out; and if so, to meet and take her at least the greater part of the way back again. I yet hope, however, to receive a letter from my wife, which will make this unnecessary.

"Emily entreated, on hearing the first alarm, that in the event of poor Stowe's death or inability to proceed, I would not refuse her permission to join me at the Rajmahal Hills, and to go with me, at whatever risk, through the rest of the journey; and I know her so well, that, though there will certainly be some circumstances trying to her strength, I am disposed to believe she would suffer more by not being allowed to follow me; so that, in about a month's time, if it pleases God, I may hope to see her and my children. Whether Miss Stowe will accompany them, or immediately return to England, I know not. Her bro-

ther seemed to think she would prefer the former, and I have written to invite her to do so. Yet, alas! what motive has she now for lingering in India.

"This is the second old and valued friend (poor Sir Christopher Puller was the first, though my intimacy with Stowe was far greater) which this cruel climate has, within a few months, robbed me of. In the meantime, I have great reason for thankfulness that, in all essential points, my own health has remained firm; that my dear wife, (though she has been an invalid) has been so from causes unconnected with climate; and that my children (since they were taken from the close and pestilential air of Fort William) have been pictures of health and cheerfulness. How long this is to continue, God knows; and I thank Him that my confidence in His mercy and protection has not yet been shaken. I am far, however, from repenting my coming out to India, where I am sure I am not idle, and hope I am not useless; though I have, alas! fallen far short of my own good intentions, and have failed to a greater extent than I expected, in conciliating the * * * * * * But I cannot help feeling most painfully the loss of a sincerely attached, intelligent, and most gentlemanlike friend, to whom, under any difficulties, I could open myself without reserve; whose cheerful conversation was delightful to me in health, and to whose affectionate solicitude and prayers I looked forward as a sure resource in sorrow or in sickness. God bless you, dear Augustus. Give my most kind love to Lady Jones, and best regards to your brothers.

"Ever your's affectionately,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

The bishop had received accounts from the South of India, of the intolerant spirit shown by some of the junior missionaries towards the native converts, relative to the distinctions of caste, to which they still clung in their intercourse with the pariah Christians, and which had caused much uneasiness and discontent among them. During the mild administration of Schwartz and his immediate successors, these distinctions had been gradually disappearing, and it seemed probable that they would, in

time, be entirely forgotten; but the spirit of persecution which had arisen during the last few years, had, as might be expected, produced a very opposite effect, and the barrier of caste was becoming every day stronger and more impassable. The bishop had reason to believe, not only from the line of conduct pursued by Schwartz (which was in itself almost conclusive evidence of the fact,) but from several circumstances which had come to his knowledge, that the distinctions claimed by the soodras were more of a civil than a religious nature, calculated rather to preserve their rank among their neighbours, than to prove that they considered themselves better than the pariahs; and that, consequently, it was not only impolitic, but unjust to insist upon their abandonment, before the soodras were admitted to the ordinances of the Christian religion, a measure which had, in some instances, been resorted to. But, as he had not been long enough in the country to form an accurate judgment as to the correctness of this opinion, he delayed taking any steps in the business, till he should himself visit the southern provinces, and had obtained all the information on the subject which it was in his power to procure. The following letter will prove that his views were just. Christian David, to whom the different queries were addressed, was himself a native of Tanjore, had been a pupil of Schwartz, and being a man of good natural understanding, was well qualified to give the bishop all the satisfaction which he desired.

Bishop's College, Aug. 5, 1825.

"My Lord,

"I have been truly gratified by the very kind and interesting letter of the 26th ultimo, with which your Lordship has been pleased to honour me, and which was immediately forwarded by the Rev. Principal Mill to Serampoor, where I was at the time, attending my son, who was afflicted with fever and liver complaint. I have shown your Lordship's letter to the Reverend the Principal, and have communicated to him verbally, from my own knowledge and observations, the answers to the several questions put by your Lordship, which, partly by his advice, I now detail as follows.

"Your lordship's first question was,

"1st. Whether the native Christians in the south object to intercourse with the pariahs on any superstitious ground of *caste*, or simply because these last are mostly poor, and belonging to the *meaner* ranks of society?

"*Observation.*—The two ideas, are in the minds of these people, nearly the same: *i. e.* their idea of rank is only that of *caste*. It is altogether distinct from the consideration of poverty or low circumstances in the world. It is necessary to observe also, that their's is purely a worldly idea; it is not connected in their minds with any notion of true or false religion; nor is there, to my knowledge, any superstition connected with it by the native Christians. Consequently I would answer the question thus.

"*Answer.*—They object on the ground of caste, though not on a superstitious ground, but as being the only rule by which they are accustomed to measure men's rank in society: *i. e.* on the ground of worldly pride, only joined to the worldly fear of degradation in the eyes of their own people, Christians as well as Heathens. (The third question will illustrate this.)

"*Q.* 2d. Whether they object to sitting in the same church, or merely to sitting promiscuously in the same part of the church with them?

"*Answer.*—Only to sitting promiscuously in the same part of the church.

"*Q.* 3d. Whether, supposing a Christian pariah were by industry and good fortune, to elevate himself above the rank which (according to those remonstrants) they now generally hold, of horsekeepers, scavengers, &c., to decent and affluent circumstances, they would still object to associate with him or his children?

"*Answer.*—If the person merely became rich, and *so* independent of menial occupations, it would make *no difference whatever* in their judgment of him; but if, even without becoming rich, he should yet become well-learned in physics, in astronomy, or (such is the present course of their thoughts) in the doctrines of Christianity, he will then be called shastree or pundit, and be respected in that character. They will sit with him and

admit him to their circles, even to sharing the bétel-nut; *still they will not eat food* out of the same dish with him, through the *worldly fear or pride above mentioned*. And there are several pariahs who are catechists in our congregations, so situated; and some of yet lower caste, who are listened to with deference and attention, even by the most prejudiced of the high caste converts.

"*Q.* 4th. What are the peculiarities, if any, in the conduct and language of those poor pariahs, from which they profess to apprehend pollution and infection to themselves and their children? Are there among the pariahs any practices, though indifferent in themselves, yet offensive to the persons of the higher caste? And if so, may they not be induced to abandon them?

"*Answer.*—There are certain vulgar, and occasionally, as in jest or anger, certain indecent expressions, from which no son of a pariah, though a Christian, can well escape, except such as receive the learned education above mentioned; these expressions not being reckoned at all shameful among Heathen pariahs, but extremely abominable to all others, Heathens as well as Christians. Not only language, though this is a great point, but many practices allowed, and even enjoined by custom on the pariahs in general, make the idea of their society to be feared as a source of contamination, even by the Christian natives of India; such as their custom of eating animals that have died a natural death; that of men, women, and children, drinking toddy and arrack together in the open streets; and these, though not common among the Christian pariahs, are yet not so completely obliterated, but that they are feared as belonging to the caste, except again in the case of the educated pariahs above mentioned.

"*Q.* 5th. What was the practice of Mr. Schwartz's congregation in these respects?

"*Answer.*—From the days of Zeigenbald, and downwards, a period of nearly one hundred years, the practice, as I have learned from my predecessors, and as I have myself seen, was as follows: That the native converts should sit at church in two separate divisions; those of high respectable caste in one; the

pariahs and those of caste still lower, in the other; yet in such a manner, that a stranger's eye would not discover the distinction, but only the missionaries, or those acquainted with the feelings and ways of the native Christians. (To prove this, it is only necessary to observe, that the unconverted natives, Hindoos and Mussulmans, constantly conceive and speak of the Christians, as being all of *one caste*.) They also drink out of the same cup at the communion, yet in such manner that those of the first division never drink after those of the other; for this purpose they always go first to the rail: the men and women also separately. The two divisions have a common burial ground; and in the funeral rites they walk promiscuously, as if with the consciousness, contrary to the Heathen notions, that death entirely dissolved these distinctions. The old missionaries, from the venerable Zeigenbald to the present survivors, Drs. Rottler and Cœmerer, the former of Madras, the latter at Tranquebar, and the Rev. Mr. Kholhoff of Tanjore, always lamented those feelings in their converts, which they felt themselves, nevertheless, obliged to consult in the above regulations of precedency in church and communion. They made it a constant subject of prayers, both among themselves and with their native preachers and catechists, that these feelings of distinction might become extinct, justifying their own practice in this respect by the accommodating (though undissembling) practice of St. Paul and the other apostles; and, under this mild system, especially under the most venerable Schwartz, the feeling in question, with the practices resulting from it, was visibly losing ground. A change of this mild practice was, for the first time, introduced by Mr. Rheniers, of the Church Missionary Society, and by him recommended to various other missionaries recently arrived, as well of the sectarian denominations, as of those in connexion with our church, including Mr. Haubroe (not Mr. Falcke) of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. These junior missionaries agreed among themselves to make the immediate abolition of every shade of these distinctions an indispensable condition of Christian communion with the existing native converts. And in their mode of conducting this, they not only opposed, in the most marked manner, the senior surviving missionaries above

mentioned, but spoke, both from the pulpit and in private, of them and their venerable predecessors, Schwartz, Gericke, Pohle, &c., as having done great mischief to the cause of Christianity. To the native Christians, who hold the memories of these illustrious men in the highest esteem and affectionate veneration, these young men were not content to speak of them as having *permitted* such and such things 'because of the hardness of their hearts,' (which, supposing them right, they ought to have said, after our Lord's example, speaking of Moses,) but denounced them in the offensive manner above mentioned as corrupters of the Gospel. The consequence of this harsh procedure and of the innovations in the translation of the Scriptures, even of the most known and familiar symbols, the Lord's Prayer, Decalogue, &c., of which they obtained fresh translations, greatly disliked by the old converts, (i. e. as we may truly say, by all the native Christians now in being,) is the heart-burning of which your lordship has seen one specimen.

"*Q.* 6th. Whether Bishop Middleton made any order in the business?

"*Answer.*—I have heard, though I cannot trust my memory for the particulars, that a contest of this nature in the Vepery congregation, was once submitted to the late bishop, and that by his lordship's intercession with both parties, greater forbearance was obtained, and harmony was, for the time, restored. The annual report of the Christian Knowledge Society for 1821, contains, I believe, a letter of Bishop Middleton's, alluding to this subject.

"*Q.* 7th. What is, in your conscientious opinion, the best remedy for the difficulty?

"*Answer*—I would humbly beg to suggest, as a means which must have a good effect, a word of advice in private only, (for the contest with the congregation will not admit of any other,) from your lordship to the junior missionaries, on the necessity for prudence and tenderness with respect to their flocks; of unity and co-operation with their missionary brethren of the same communion; and of reverential esteem for those who have preceded them in this great work with a zeal and success which they cannot pretend to have themselves equalled. I would venture to suggest also a pastoral letter from your lord-

ship to these converts, enjoining them at the same time to obedience to their pastors, and Christian estimation of all their fellow Christians; explaining to them from Scripture, the utter opposition of all proud notions of caste to the Gospel; and intimating the earnest wish of their European instructers to remove this, with as little offence as possible to any of their national feelings or prejudices, without touching any just and proper distinction of rank, education, or degree in society. This would certainly have very great weight with them. And it might, in my humble opinion, be made still more useful to them, if a special address were made to the pariahs and those of lower caste —reminding them that, as Christianity had an evident and proper tendency to elevate them, with respect to themselves and their countrymen, they should carefully abstain from every expression or habit (however supposed essential to their condition in life) which might have a tendency to excite disgust and dislike in their higher brethren; reminding them also of that necessary regard and deference which Christianity not only *allows*, but *commands* to be paid to our superiors in knowledge or worldly respectability; and of the special direction of St. Paul addressed to Christian slaves against the contempt of their Heathen masters. I should not have presumed to offer these suggestions, my lord, had not your lordship so condescendingly invited me to do so. I beg leave to enclose for your lordship's perusal, the copy of my letter to Dr. Rottler, as it bears on the subject in question, and may throw further light upon the state of things at Vepery.

"Reserving to another opportunity to express on one or two further points in your lordship's letter, irrelevant to the preceding inquiries, having already too greatly extended this letter, for which I beg your lordship's indulgence, I remain with a strong and lasting sense of the great condescension and kindness I have experienced from your lordship, and with ardent wishes for your continued health and happiness, and long usefulness in the Church,

"My Lord,
"Your Lordship's very obedient,
"and most faithful servant,
"CHRISTIAN DAVID."

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Monghyr, August 12, 1824.

"My Dear Sir,

"I am sincerely sorry for, but can, in some degree, account for the long delay which has occurred in answering your letters. For some time before I left Calcutta (on June 15th,) I had been very closely and anxiously occupied, not only in preparing for my visitation and consequent journey, but, more painfully, in attending the sick and dying bed, and assisting to arrange the affairs of my excellent friend the chief justice; and afterwards, in performing the same duties during the dangerous illness of his widow and son. Under these circumstances I was induced to defer answering your letters till I should be fairly removed from the bustle of Calcutta, and able to pay them that undivided and serious attention which was claimed by the very important topics agitated in them. Even then, however, I did not find the leisure I had hoped for. The long and painful sickness followed by the death of my poor friend Stowe, who died at Dacca, (in whom I lost one whom I had for several years regarded as little less than a younger brother, and whose affairs I had also in a great measure to arrange for his sister's benefit,) made me for several weeks a nurse, and, in some degree, an executor; while to incapacitate me still more, I was laid up with boils, and received from Calcutta, during my progress hither, an account of the dangerous illness of my eldest child. Under these circumstances, your letter of June the 22d reached me a few days since, after many wanderings; and it is only this day that I have received from Mr. Stacey the letter which you sent to him.

"I will now tell you, in a few words, what I have done, and what I think best to be done on the different points which you mention.

"As soon as I received the necessary documents respecting your return to England, I wrote, officially, to the board of controul, and privately and more strongly to Mr. Wynn, requesting that your pension might be made payable from the time of your

resignation; and repeating my sentiments as to your meritorious and indefatigable exertions, and your consequent claims on whatever favour or patronage it might be in the power of government to extend to you. I also asked Mr. Wynn whether any compensation could be obtained for the expenses incurred by you in your visitations; a point on which I had found the supreme government of India quite impracticable.

"The commission which you received was sent in consequence of your stating that the one which Bishop Middleton had given you was from himself *personally*, and only enabled you legally to act during *his* episcopacy. The form was, precisely, that which two or three years before his death, he had sent to the archdeacons of Madras and Ceylon. Its purport, as I understood it, was not to empower you to *license* the chaplains, but to 'call for and examine the letters of orders, &c. of the ministers, chaplains, &c. now belonging to, and unlicensed in the archdeaconry, or who may hereafter be appointed,' &c. It authorized you to take the usual oaths, and make the usual subscriptions, and to certify the same to me. No official seal was supposed necessary, and the licensing remained with the bishop as before.

" * * In consequence of your very able letter on the subject of endorsing licenses on change of station, I had desired Mr. Stacey to ascertain what had been the degree of attention paid to this point during Bishop Middleton's episcopacy. His answer was, that, so far as he could learn from the memoranda in Mr. Abbott's office, and the recollections of his clerks, the practice had, of late years, been much neglected, few endorsements having been made except on those licenses which had been sent from the other archdeaconries; and that the arrival of these last had been generally very irregular, and long after the changes had taken place. I confess this long neglect has contributed to indispose me to the revival of a claim against which I find a very strong prejudice existing in the leading members of this government, and to enforce which, in any satisfactory manner, I have little or no power. It is, I think, well worth consideration, whether all essential objects are not answered by the notification of all appointments or changes

to the bishop or archdeacon, by government; and by the practice also (which, I believe, is never departed from) of the chaplain apprizing his ecclesiastical superior of his arrival at his appointed station. So far as the question, in ecclesiastical law, extends, I still conceive that a license may be of two kinds; the one local and definite—the other general; though, of course, this last would not justify a minister in encroaching on the station of another, or officiating where he was, on sufficient cause, prohibited by his ordinary. At present, I find that I have, in Bengal, and I understand that it is the case with you in Bombay (in consequence of the good feeling in which we both of us stand with government) as much influence as can be desired in the stationing of chaplains. And I therefore conceive that it is not advisable, at present, to revive a claim which, in the first instance, I was understood to abandon, both by this government and by the authorities at home. The subject, I confess, is one on which I have felt great difficulty; since, without flattery, your arguments were such as might well make me distrust my own opinion. But, at present, my impression remains that endorsement is not necessary, and the licenses which are now on their way will run accordingly.*

"Your proposal for establishing diocesan and archidiaconal

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* "Bishop Middleton had licensed every chaplain to a particular station, in order to secure to that station all its ecclesiastical advantages, and to compel the permanent residence of the minister. If he was afterwards removed, or succeeded to another station, the bishop endorsed his license, 'removed with our consent,' and he never allowed a chaplain to be absent from his duty without permission, but in cases of unavoidable necessity. Bishop Heber (if the station had no proper church) added the term 'district' to that of 'station,' as being of a less restricted nature. The usual endorsement was then also dropped; the local authorities having directed that all applications for leave of absence, should be made, in future, through the bishop; who was also made acquainted with every removal and nomination of the chaplains, made by the government to the different stations. The reasons alleged by him for making the above alteration were, that the chaplains, by being licensed to districts as well as stations, would be at liberty to make parochial visitations, and preach in alternate, or stated Sundays, within the great extent of their appointments, instead of confining their ministrations all the year, to one part only.

"In one or two instances he also granted licenses to one or two native missionaries, who had been ordained, to preach and perform the office of minister within a certain district, and in a particular language."—*Abbott's Analysis of the Diocese of Calcutta*, pp. 59, 60. (1828.)—Ed.

committees of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, either in union with, or distinct from, the committees of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, I stated, in the first instance, to, I believe, all the different clergy of Calcutta, and, more particularly, to our friend the principal, and to Dr. Parish, the acting secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. No objection was or could be made to its adoption, except that, at this time, owing to some very heavy expenses incurred by this last society, its members have been obliged to use all their exertions to keep it even in a stationary condition. Most of us have augmented our subscriptions greatly; an appeal for fresh aid has been made to all the stations in the archdeaconry, and to every individual subscriber. And I have this moment received an application from the committee, requesting me, in very pressing terms, to give them aid from a fund for charitable purposes, entrusted to me by the parent society at home; and to solicit for them, from the same quarter, an annual grant in future. Under such circumstances it was not thought advisable, or, indeed, possible, to reduce the limits of subscriptions, (which with us is now only thirty-two sicca rupees,) or to urge any other claim at this moment on a public who (as is remarkably the case in Bengal) are wearied with the numerous calls made on them; and have, unfortunately, exhibited this weariness in a falling off in almost all the collections made during the present year, for different charitable purposes. All therefore which I could do, before leaving Calcutta, to forward the cause, was to give copies of the society's reports to the clergy, and the most influential persons among the laity; explaining to them the extent and value of the services which they had already rendered to the Christian cause in India; and expressing my hope that, when their missionaries became able to take a more conspicuous part than they had yet done, I should find encouragement to put their proceedings in India on the same footing with other societies.

"Since the receipt of your letter, it has occurred to me that something more may be done by a collection for it in the churches throughout the diocese, which, whether much or little were obtained in money would, at least, give publicity to its

claims, and keep its connexion with Bishop's College before the notice of these colonies; while I do not think that it would materially interfere with what we are now doing for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for which I am myself obliged to be an importunate and almost daily beggar. I have written on the subject to Mr. Mill, and expect his answer at Benares. This, however, applies to Bengal only. When I have the pleasure of meeting you at Bombay, should circumstances appear favourable, I know no reason why your archdeaconry should not set a good example to the rest of the diocese; and I shall be most happy, when on the spot, to sanction and forward any feasible plan for the purpose.

"I have this moment received, but have not yet had time to read, the papers sent by Mr. Carr respecting the Church Missionary Society. Their committee at Calcutta, on my first arrival, occasioned me some trouble and uneasiness, and I have since had a very vexatious encounter with one of the missionaries. I have had, however, abundant reason to be satisfied with the temper and conduct of their leading men; and in the case to which I have alluded, the whole body showed a readiness to support my authority, in any manner which I might point out to them; while I think I may say that all their public measures have, since my arrival in India, been unreservedly submitted to my opinion and approbation. In consequence, I have not only been happy to remain on good terms with a society of their zeal and influence, but have sedulously kept the peace between them and my friends —— —— whose alarm had been excited by some occurrences which had, till explained, an appearance of the old Indian laxity of ecclesiastical union. Under such circumstances it is certainly desirable that their missionaries all over India should be under episcopal controul; and you will oblige me by desiring the missionaries in your archdeaconry to appear before you to take the oaths, &c., in order to be licensed in the usual form. As to my becoming president of an auxiliary society there, I, at present, see no objection except *one;* but, to say the truth, the number of societies to which I already contribute, makes me not very anxious to be a subscriber to the same society in two places at once.

"My plans for my future journey have been, in some measure, deranged by my long delay at Dacca. Still, however, I hope to be at Cawnpoor the beginning of October, and to reach Baroda by the beginning of February. At Cawnpoor, whither I shall be obliged to you to direct to me, I shall be able to speak with greater certainty. My wife and children were forbidden by our medical advisers to accompany me in the journey over land; and it is my present plan that they should meet me at Bombay, whence we may proceed together to the visitation of Ceylon, and, perhaps, Madras, before our return to Calcutta.

"Calcutta, since I left it, has been dreadfully unhealthy, and they have, I fear, suffered from the climate more seriously than my wife will allow. Except boils, from which I have suffered with little intermission, during the last four months, and which have been extremely painful and inconvenient, I have myself been tolerably well. I shall rejoice to hear that you are likely to carry home an unbroken constitution, and that you continue to receive good accounts of your treasures in England.

"The death of poor Stowe enabled me to offer my private chaplaincy to Mr. Hawtayne, whom, however, I shall not desire to meet me at Bombay. I shall not want him; and in the present state of the churches in Calcutta, his return thither, supposing him to be well enough, is almost a matter of necessity. I have learnt with much pleasure from Mill that his health has been greatly restored. You would hear I am sure with satisfaction of the intended appointments of two bishops to the West Indies. I heartily wish they had been equally liberal to the eastern world. I scarcely know whether you will thank me for it; but when writing to Mr. Wynn, I could not help saying that, if a coadjutor were allowed me, I recommended him to turn his attention to an archdeacon, who, during ten years' residence, had found means to conciliate the good opinion, as far as I could discover, of all parties; and who possessed more than most men whom he could fix on, a knowledge of India and its clergy.

"Believe me, dear Mr. Archdeacon,

"Ever your faithful friend and servant,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

From Dacca the bishop proceeded northwards; during a short residence at Boglipoor his attention and interest were strongly excited by the tribes of the Puharrees, who inhabit the Rajmahâl hills. In a letter to one of his friends, written at a later period, he remarks, "these tribes are still in the simplest state of savage society, living chiefly by the chase, under a number of petty chiefs, and always making their appearance armed with bows and arrows. They agree in language and countenance with the Bheels, and (I am told) with the Gooands of Berar and of the valley of the Nerbudda, being a fragment, in fact, of the same great nation, the earliest inhabitants of India, who have been driven from the plains by more civilized or fiercer tribes. Savages as they are, and thieves almost by necessity, they have, in some instances, much the advantage over the more polished Hindoos; and in the worship of one God, their abhorrence of falsehood, the chastity of their women, their freedom from caste, and the high respect with which they look up to Europeans, they offer, I think, more encouragement to a missionary than any other field for his labours which I have yet seen."

The bishop was able, a short time afterwards, to realize his idea of placing a missionary among these people. Mr. Christian, who was sent to Bishop's College by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was appointed to this important mission, which he occupied towards the end of the present year.

The Rajmahâl mountains are, unfortunately, from their extreme unhealthiness, accessible to Europeans for only three months in the year; and, in consequence, Boglipoor, (or Bhaugulpoor,) the principal town in the district which includes the range of hills, was fixed upon as Mr. Christian's permanent abode for the remaining nine months. From thence he wrote the following account of the commencement of his undertaking, which, though written the next year, is, to avoid confusion, introduced in this place.

From the Reverend Thomas Christian.

Bhaugulpoor, April 27, 1825.

"My Lord,

"I beg leave to offer my humble and best thanks for your lordship's last very kind letter, which I should have answered immediately, had I not been uncertain as to the best place of directing my letter. The delay has afforded me the satisfaction of mentioning that I have commenced the Puharree language, in which the difficulties, though they are many, I trust will, in time, be surmounted. I am, at present, making a large vocabulary, which, I think, will comprehend all the words in their language, and which, I hope, may be completed in three months. In connecting sentences I have made but little progress; for, after trying for some time, in vain, to come at the proper inflexions of the words, I was obliged to have recourse to writing down familiar sentences, from which I find considerable benefit.

"Several hill men came to me to offer themselves as domestics; but as they knew nothing of Hindoostanee, and did not appear to comprehend what I wished to express in their own language, they could not be of any service. I have a tolerably intelligent man, at present, in the interpreter of the court, whose assistance Mr. Chalmers kindly offered me; but even he can go but a little way; and not being very punctual in his attendance, the progress I hope I should otherwise make is retarded.

"I should wish, if it were possible, to go into the hills next December, and am anxious, if I can accomplish it, to carry some portions of the Gospels with me in their own language, written in the Nagree character. I have seen and conversed with some of the chiefs, and mentioned to them my intention of visiting their mountains, with which they seemed well satisfied, and promised me whatever assistance I might require from them. The dialects of these people are numerous, which will make the work of conveying information among them slower; though I should hope that the perfect knowledge of one will be a key to the remainder.

"I feel grateful at being chosen for this undertaking, which,

I trust, under a God who regardeth all His creatures, will be attended with success. Of this, at present, I can only speak in hope; time and perseverance may enable me to do so with certainty.

"I have now been here three months, where I have received the kindest possible attentions from every individual composing the station. Col. and Mrs. Francklyn have consulted my comfort in every way they could; in which their example has been followed by Mr. Ward's family, as well as by all whom I have the pleasure of knowing here. Your lordship's (you will pardon my presumption in saying) almost paternal mention of me to Colonel Francklyn, I should imagine has very much contributed to this, for which I beg to offer my sincere thanks.

"I am engaged at present in catechising two Hindoo boys who are candidates for baptism, to which I mean to admit them when they are a little better instructed. A native Christian, baptized by one of the chaplains, accompanies them, to be benefitted by my instructions at the same time.

"I have the honour to be, with great respect,

"Your Lordship's very humble and grateful servant,

"THOMAS CHRISTIAN.

"I received a letter from Monghyr yesterday, giving me an account of much sickness and many deaths among the invalids. It might seem desirable to your lordship that I should go there once a month, as the nature of the case might seem to require."*

The promise of success which this mission held out answered all the bishop's expectations. The Puharrees not only permitted Mr. Christian to instruct their children during the three months he resided in the hills, but, on his representing that they would forget all they had learnt before his return the ensuing year, some of them, among whom was one of their principal

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* Monghyr is nearly forty miles from Boglipoor, but as there was no resident clergyman there, the bishop appointed Mr. Christian to go there once every month.—ED.

chiefs, allowed him to take his pupils back to Boglipoor. These fair prospects continued to increase till December, 1827; when, on his annual visit to the mountains, he was seized with the jungle fever, and though he immediately returned to Boglipoor for medical aid, it was too late; he died on the 16th December, beloved, esteemed, and regretted by all. His wife, who had accompanied him, lingered a month under the influence of the same fatal malady, and then followed her husband to the grave. This unfortunate event has, for the present, interrupted the progress of that extensive scheme of missionary labours from which the bishop had joyfully hoped so much good would accrue to India. No missionary has yet been found capable of filling Mr. Christian's place, for few are endowed with his remarkable talent of conciliating the affections of the natives, and still fewer unite with it that courage, zeal, and discretion, which rendered his life as invaluable as his loss has, hitherto, been irreparable. It is much to be apprehended that the Puharrees will forget the impression thus transiently made; while the tribes who inhabit the Garrow mountains, between Assam and the eastern parts of Bengal, yet remain without an attempt to rescue them from their idolatry. But, in God's good time, even these neglected vineyards will have labourers sent forth to their harvest!

To Charles Lushington, Esq.

Ghazeepoor, August 28, 1824.

"My Dear Sir,

"Many thanks for your letter, which I was happy to receive on many accounts, and more than all because I had heard of Mrs. Lushington's and your illness; and I was sincerely anxious to know that you had both got through this troublesome and universal ordeal,* without worse consequences than the usual amount of nursing and confinement. I trust that the weakness which it appears to have invariably left behind, has been of less

* An epidemic fever which raged almost universally in India, during the summer of 1824, and which, with scarcely any exceptions, attacked the whole European population of Calcutta, and occasioned the temporary closing of many of the public offices, and even of the company's dispensary itself.—Ed.

duration with both of you than my wife complains it has been in her case.

"I overtook your cousin* at Monghyr, and hope, though he has made a longer halt at Bankipoor than I could spare time for, he will overtake me again at Ghazeepoor, and that we may possibly arrange our movements in such a manner as not only to proceed together to Cawnpoor, but to march together to Nusseerabad, whither, he seems to think, he is under no necessity of proceeding faster than will allow me time to make the necessary detour of the northern chaplaincies. He is a very agreeable fellow traveller, and if his health continues firm (which alas! is a proviso never to be omitted in an Indian prophecy,) I feel confident that he will not detract from the reputation of his family.

"My voyage from Dacca upwards, was, for the first fortnight, sufficiently melancholy; since, besides feeling as I could not but do, for the loss of an amiable and most attached friend, I was myself far from well, and had very uncomfortable accounts of the health of my wife and children. I do not know whether there is more in it than fancy; but I have thought myself essentially better in the comparatively dry and elastic air of Bahar; and at all events, my return to European society has done all the good in the world to my spirits. The Corries I found at Boglipoor, where, on hearing of poor Stowe's death, they good naturedly waited for me; his health, I am sorry to say, does not appear to exhibit any essential improvement; had he remained in Calcutta, he would hardly, I think, have weathered the influenza, or whatever is its name, of this last unhealthy season.

"I enclose an official letter on the subject of an application which I have received from Mr. Parish, of Dacca, which if you think its contents reasonable and likely to be granted, I will thank you to lay before council. The church was, when I saw it, in a very neat and creditable state of repair, cleaning and furniture, and was as well attended as could be looked for, from the

* Mr. James Lushington, son to the Right Hon. Stephen R. Lushington, now (1830) governor of Madras.—Ed.

small and scattered European population of the settlement. It was also pleasant to find that Mr. Parish, who is a very active, obliging, and good tempered man, was extremely acceptable, both personally and as a clergyman, to the station. I am heartily glad to find you have sent a clergyman to Dum Dum, which, in its deserted state, seemed to be staring the Indian government in the face, as the unenclosed 'Ox-moor' did the Shandy family.

"From all these districts, alas! I have been obliged to hear many lamentations over the want of chaplains; and am almost afraid that similar complaints may ere long be heard from Dinapoor, where Mr. Northmore and his wife both talk very despondingly of each other's health, and of the necessity of a temporary return, at least, to England. It is really of consequence to prevent, if possible, any more chaplains from leaving India at present.

"The want of a church is much felt at Dinapoor; the place where they now meet for divine service cannot contain above half the soldiers who may be frequently expected when a king's regiment is here besides the company's. * * * There is an excellent situation for a church in a spot where, I am informed, the commandant's house used to stand; but still no alteration in the church seems likely to enable the civilians of Bankipoor and Patna to attend it regularly, since the distance of most of them is six or seven miles, through roads which, during part of the year, are impassable for a carriage. They, therefore, were very earnest in their inquiries as to the possibility of obtaining a separate chaplain; stating their readiness to build a church by subscription, if government would grant them a preacher. I know too well the number of similar applications which are made to you, to give them any hope of success in such a petition. But, referring to a plan which I once mentioned to you as practised in the presidency of Bombay, and for the details of which, at your desire, I have written to Archdeacon Barnes, it may be well worth your consideration, whether the district chaplain of Dinapoor may not be ordered to attend one Sunday in every month at Bankipoor, receiving an allowance for his gig or palanquin, and for a lodging in Patna, which every body seemed to say would be necessary. A church at Ban-

kipoor is really, I think, not wanted. The court of appeal is a large and convenient room, which answers every essential purpose; there are already a bible, prayer books, and a handsome service of communion plate; and when I preached and administered the sacrament last Sunday, at least sixty persons attended, of whom thirty, I think, staid to receive it. On so numerous a body of Christians, a monthly visit will not be thrown away, and for baptizing children, &c., such a visit will be a great additional convenience and comfort, at very little additional expense to the company.

"Should the extension of such a plan to other stations be practicable, it is easy to see how the clergyman of Ghazeepoor may visit Buxar, where he is exceedingly wanted and wished for; Benares and Chunar, Agra and Muttra, Neemuch and Nusseerabad, Saugur and Hussingabad, may go together. As soon as I receive Archdeacon Barnes's answer to the queries which you suggested, I will again trouble you with a letter. The interest which I know you take in all that relates to the improvement and comfort of these stations, make me hope that this will not have tired you.

"Reginald Calcutta."

Of his entrance into Benares, the seat of Brahminical learning, and "the most holy city of Hindoostan," the bishop gives the following characteristic description in a letter to the editor.

"I will endeavour to give you some idea of the concert, vocal and instrumental, which saluted us as we entered the town.

"First Beggar. Agha Sahib! Judge Sahib! Burra Sahib! yek puesa do, hum fuqeer hue! hum padre hue! hum bookn se mur jata hue! (Great lord, great judge, give me some pice. I am a fakir; I am a priest; I am dying with hunger.)

"Bearers *trotting under the tonjohn.* Ugh, Ugh, Ugh, Ugh!

"Musicians. Tingle tangle, tingle tangle, bray, bray, bray!

"Chuprassee, *clearing the way with his sheathed sabre.* Chup! chup! jugih do judge sahib ke waste, lord padre sahib

ke waste ! baen ! deina ! juldee ! (Silence, give room for the lord judge, the lord priest ; get out of the way, quick.) *Then very gently stroking and patting the broad back of a brahminy bull.* He ! uchu admee ! chulo, chulo ! (Oh good man, move, move.)

" BULL, *scarcely moving.* Bu—u—uh !

" SECOND BEGGAR, *counting his beads, rolling his eyes, and moving his body backwards and forwards.* Ram, ram, ram, ramt kurte huen !

" BEARERS, *as before.* Ugh, Ugh, Ugh, Ugh !"

The effect which the bishop's visitation produced on the minds of all who came within the influence of his talents and his piety, cannot be more strikingly displayed than by the publication of the following letter from one of the principal persons in Benares.

From Norman Macleod, Esq. Magistrate at Benares.

Benares, Sept. 22, 1824.

" MY LORD,

. . . . . .

" I know not how to refrain from venturing on some allusion to the general sentiments of deep interest and lively gratification excited by your lordship's visit to this place, (in common, I doubt not, with every stage of your progress,) and the very sincere regrets which have followed your too speedy departure. Of all the pleasing impressions which your lordship has left to commemorate your brief sojourn amongst us, I will not here presume to speak ; but I may hope your lordship will not be displeased with the brief assurance, that your visit has been productive of much good in this community, in points essentially connected with those high and sacred interests which are so peculiarly under your charge, and ever so near to all the movements of your heart. For the mention of my own individual share in the grateful impressions your lordship has diffused among us, I will hope to have found an admissible excuse with your lordship, while I ascribe some portion of it to associations awakened by your presence, recalling to my mind the days of

other times, the scenes of my youth, and of my native land; and many a recollection of no light or ordinary interest, to one who has wandered so far and so long from the *dulce domum* of early life. Your lordship will readily conceive how this might be. And thus it will hardly seem strange to you, that the strains of pious and holy instruction, which fixed so impressive a record of our first visitation by a Protestant prelate on the minds of us all, should have spoken with peculiar emphasis to the feelings of one who, after many a year of toil and exile in a foreign clime, recognized, in the accents which now preached the Word of the Living God amid the favourite abodes of Heathen idolatry, that self-same voice which, in his days of youthful enthusiasm and ardent undamped fancy, had poured on his delighted ear the lay that sung the sacred theme of the Redeemer's land, amid the long-loved haunts of his *alma mater;* amid the venerated temples of the religion of our fathers. But let me not give a license to my pen which may seem to bespeak me forgetful of the high value of your lordship's time. Permit me, my lord, to conclude with the expression of my unfeigned and most fervent wishes for your long enjoyment of health and vigour, for your gratification in all the hopes with which you contemplate the interesting journey before you, and for the success of every plan you may form for the advancement of those concerns of eternal moment, which have been so happily entrusted to your lordship's care.

"I remain, my Lord,
"Most respectfully and sincerely your's,
"NORMAN MACLEOD."

An unpublished letter to one of the bishop's friends contains the following passage relative to the riches of this part of India:

"Though Gunga through all her course 'disdains a bridge,' very long and handsome bridges of pointed arches, the works of the Mussulmans, are seen over the rivers which join her; and it may give you some idea of the population and ancient wealth of this part of the country, when I mention that, in a space of

not more than one hundred miles on the map, I fell in (besides many large market-towns) with the cities of Patna, containing a population of 200,000; Chuprah, of 40,000; Chunar, of 30,000; Mirzapoor, of 300,000; and Benares, of 580,000."

Of the Sunday which the bishop spent at Chunar, Mr. Bowley, one of the missionaries, gives an account in a letter to the Church Missionary Society.

"This morning the bishop preached on the good Samaritan,* and then administered the sacrament both in English and Hindoostanee. The service was nearly four hours long; and from the active part which his lordship took, it seemed as if he would never be tired while thus engaged. At five in the afternoon we had divine service in Hindoostanee; the whole church was thronged with native Christians, and the aisles were crowded with Heathens; there must have been many hundreds present, of whom the greater part were drawn by curiosity. Immediately after, English evening worship commenced. Thus has his lordship devoted about seven hours this day to public worship. May his example and his zeal for the extension of Christ's kingdom influence very many."

The cession of Chinsurah, to which the next letters refer, took place in the following year, when the church service of the settlement was, by an order of government, committed to the bishop's disposal. He had long considered Chinsurah a most desirable station for missionary purposes, and had, as will be seen, early applied for the use of its church, to prevent its falling into other hands. He was at Bombay when he heard that his request had been complied with, and immediately appointed Mr. Morton, one of the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to that important station; writing, at the same time, to Mr. Mill, to make such arrangements with the Dutch inhabitants of Chinsurah for Mr. Morton's reception there, as a regard to their feelings and their attachment to the Presbyterian form of worship demanded, without in any way compromising the principles of the Episcopal Church.

* Published in "Heber's Sermons in India," p. 151.

The bishop had made the Dutch an offer of the occasional use of the church for divine service in their own language; but this was declined by Mr. De La Croix, their pastor and missionary; and when Mr. Mill arrived, he found that no difficulty remained beyond that of reconciling the inhabitants to our apostolical worship and discipline. Mr. Morton remained at Chinsurah till the year 1827, when the circumstances of the station being altered, he was removed by the archdeacon of Calcutta to his previous charge of the schools at Cossipoor.*

To Charles Lushington, Esq.

Benares, September 6, 1824.

"My Dear Sir,

"I yesterday consecrated the church at this place, and administered confirmation to about thirty persons, fourteen of whom were native Christians, the first who have yet offered themselves. In point of fact, these have been, I find, most of them originally Roman Catholics, who have married soldiers and joined their husbands' church. Two, I think, of the men, and two only, were described as really converts from Hindooism. Mr. Morris, the missionary, is extremely well spoken of by the principal persons in the station; and Mr. Frazer, the chaplain, is one of the most gentlemanly and intelligent clergymen I have met with.

"I enclose a letter to government, with regard to the presentation of which, you will much oblige me by exercising your friendly discretion. It has been called forth by the general report that Chinsurah is to be given up to the British government,

* At the time of Mr. Morton's appointment, Chinsurah had not many European inhabitants; but soon after a depot of the king's troops was established there, and the constant residents were, in 1827, augmented nearly four fold. The consequent increase of the duties, which in fact belonged to a government chaplain, occupied Mr. Morton's time almost to the exclusion of those which, as a missionary sent out from England for the express conversion of the Heathen, he was bound to fulfil. The archdeacon of Calcutta, therefore, applied to government for the appointment of one of its chaplains to Chinsurah, which was granted him; and Mr. Morton returned to his labours at Cossipoor, under the direction of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and to the completion of his Bengalee and English Dictionary.

and by the anxiety which I naturally feel that the fine church, and numerous, though mostly native population of that town should have a clergyman of our own persuasion, rather than one of the dissenting missionaries, who will, I have reason to believe, lose no time in applying for it. I have also reason to believe that the inhabitants of the town, both English and Dutch, would be extremely glad to have our liturgy and a clergyman of our establishment. With these feelings, I really am most anxious for the success of the request, and have been afraid of not speaking in time.

"Your cousin remained at Bankipoor some days after I left it, and is, I fancy, now on the river between Ghazeepoor and this place, with both wind and current against him. I should not now be here, indeed, if I had not left my boat at Seidpoor and come up by dak.

"Ghazeepoor is in grievous want of a church, or rather will be, as soon as it has a chaplain; the present building is in a hopeless state of decay, so much so, that when I mentioned my intention of preaching in it, I was assured that nobody would venture their lives '*sub iisdem trabibus*,' and was obliged to borrow an auction-room in the neighbourhood. But with these and other ecclesiastical matters, I shall probably trouble you soon in the form of an official paper. I congratulate you on the expected appointment of your relation* to Bombay; his dignified and disinterested conduct, when in Ceylon, gives the best possible augury to the people whom he is to govern.

"Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Ever most truly your's,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To the Rev. Principal Mill.

Allahabad, Sept. 20 1824

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Your interesting packet reached me just before I left Benares; but my time was so much occupied both there and at Chunar, that it was impossible for me to send an answer before my arrival at this place, which I reached yesterday. Your let-

* The Right Honourable Stephen R. Lushington

ter, and those which I sent you from Patna, must have crossed each other on the road; but I do not know that any practical inconvenience can have arisen from our want of concert. What I have said respecting the Church Missionary Society, may all apply to your letter written previously to my arrival in India; and it is quite as well that the committee at home should be in possession of both our views as to the case of the Church Missionary Society, and the employment of Lutheran missionaries. I cannot, however, forbear expressing to you my lively sense of the obliging and friendly regard to my opinion, which has prompted the letter which you have enclosed for my perusal, and which I now, with thanks, return. Your *exposé* of the objects, origin, and present state of Bishop's College, seems every thing which could be desired; and I trust soon to be enabled to ground some measures on it, both for a general collection in favour of the institution in the different stations of the diocese, and, what is of still more eventual importance, to prepare the way for the transfer (on a distinct and stable footing) of all the missionary transactions and schools of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to that for the Propagation of the Gospel, in connexion with Bishop's College.

"Meanwhile I have not been inattentive to your valuable suggestion respecting the church at Chinsurah, and wrote from Benares on the very day on which I received your letter, to government, requesting the use of that church to myself, you, and such clergymen as we might appoint. The fact of my having made such application had better, however, at present, be said nothing of till we hear the result. I am inclined to anticipate, in the first instance, a doubtful answer on the ground that Chinsurah has not yet been ceded. But I have, I trust, secured by this early application, the advantage of not being forestalled by the Baptists or Methodists.

"Undoubtedly, possession of the church at Serampoor is a great point, and I rejoice exceedingly at Colonel Krefting's favourable disposition. I wrote to Dr. Parish, some time ago, my opinion as to the propriety of praying for King Frederic Christian, of Denmark, in the morning service by himself, and, in the prayer for all conditions of men, conjointly with our own sove-

reign. There may, indeed, as you observe, at first sight, appear an impropriety in praying that he may have victory over *all* his enemies, when we ourselves may *possibly* hereafter be found among the number. But, neither in policy nor in Christianity are we authorized to anticipate a future quarrel between nations worshipping the same God, and now in peace and alliance. Nor can such general petitions, from the nature of the case, be ever understood to invoke the aid of God against any whom the King, in whose behalf they are offered, may hereafter, by injustice or aggression, compel to defend themselves against him.

"I have found Mr. Bowley, at Chunar, extremely anxious for episcopal ordination, and was, on the whole, well pleased with him and his congregation. When I saw them, Mr. Morris, of Benares, read the prayers, and I gave the blessing; and, as a catechist may *preach*, I thus got over, as well as the case admitted, of the appearance of giving my personal sanction to the irregularity of Mr. Bowley's present orders. Nobody in this neighbourhood seems to know any thing of the history of his ordination, nor, perhaps, to care. He himself, however, was so earnest, that I regretted heartily that many months must yet elapse before I can, with due regard to the necessary solemnity of the sacred rite, admit him to the commission which he so much desires. His Hindoostanee is fluent, and even to me very intelligible.

"I have had a tedious journey from Ghazeepoor hither, owing to the failure of the eastern winds. The premature cessation of rain which this failure has brought with it, will, I fear, be very injurious to the agriculture of these provinces.

"Believe me, dear Mr. Principal,

"Ever your sincere friend,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

On one occasion, when the bishop returned to his boat after spending some days amid the noise and bustle of a populous station, he wrote, "Much as I like those I have left, I confess I was hardly sorry to feel myself once more upon the waters. For many days past I have been in a constant hurry of occupation, visitation, information, salutation, and obligation; and

great as have been the kindness and civility shown me, and many the objects of curiosity and interest by which I have been surrounded, I have more than once been tempted to look back with regret to the evenings that I rambled by the jungle side, and the days that I passed in the quiet contemplation of wood, water, and cottages, and to think that, though more is to be learned among the cities, camps, and castles of Hindoostan, as much enjoyment, at least, may be found in the fragrant groves and comparatively unfrequented ruins of green Bengal."

The editor has been permitted to publish the following extracts from the MS. journal of the bishop's fellow traveller, Mr. James Lushington, by the kindness of his mother, the Honourable Mrs. Lushington.

"*September.*—Hume says that admiration and acquaintance are incompatible towards any human being; but the more I know of the bishop the more I esteem and revere him,

cujus amor tantum mihi crescit in horas
Quantum vere novo viridis se surrigit almus.

He seems born to conciliate all parties, and to overcome what has before appeared impossible. Most great talkers are sometimes guilty of talking absurdities; but, though scarcely an hour silent during the day, I have never heard him utter a word which I could wish recalled.

* * * * * * *

"*Futtehpoor.*—In coming through a brook of water running across the road, the bishop's horse thought proper to lie down and give him a roll; with his usual kindness, instead of kicking him till he got up again, he only patted him, and said, 'he was a nice fellow.'

* * * * * * *

"*Kuleanpoor.*—Notwithstanding the threatening appearance of the skies, the bishop and I set off to ride a long sixteen miles. We had sent on all our clothes hoping it might clear up, but had scarcely rode a hundred yards when a rain came on that wet us to the skin, and as we had not a dry rag to put on, had we returned to the tents, we faced the pelting storm, which, by

the by, was straight in our eyes, most manfully. 'We staid not for brook and we stopped not for stone,' but dashed on to Pulliampoor, which we reached in about an hour and a half, at least I did; his lord-ship's horse knocked up, and he was not up for half an hour after me. There was no standing on ceremony, and I rode on and got a fire lighted in a wretched serai. Perhaps the smoke and stink, &c. kept out the cold, which I thought I must have caught after standing so long in drenched clothes. The scene was rather good when the bishop arrived. There was the lord bishop of all the Indies sitting cowering over a wretched fire of wet wood, the smoke of which produced a bleary redness about the eyes, surrounded by a group of shivering blacks, some squatting, some half afraid to come further than the door-way of the hut; and in the back ground, close to his head, my horse's tail, with a boy attempting to scrape off some of the mud, with which the poor beast was covered all over. The walls were of mud, and the roof of rotten smoked bamboo, from which were suspended two or three Kedgeree pots. We cut jokes upon the ludicrous figure we were conscious of making, and were comfortable enough as long as we were eating, which we did with ravenous appetites. But in a short time we began to be sufficiently wretched, worse far than the 'stout gentleman' on a rainy day, for the 'traveller's room' leaked like a sieve. There were camels, and oxen, and tattoos too, all standing and crouching to be rained upon; and one solitary cock, with his tail drawn up by the wet into a single feather; but there were not even a couple of gabbling ducks to enliven the dreary yard.

"The small tents which had been sent on last night were so soaked, that if you touched the roof with the tip of your finger, it immediately attracted a stream of water which ran down your sleeves; they were perfectly pregnant with rain, and at the slightest motion given, emitted a sluice. Our beds being all thoroughly soaked, though covered with oil cloth, we were obliged to turn into the palanquins, which were, perhaps, the best of the two, as one is quite secure from rain in them."

SONNET

ON THE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA PASSING THROUGH ALLAHABAD, ON A VISIT TO THE UPPER STATIONS OF INDIA.

BY G. A. VETCH, ESQ.

Bright with the dews of pure Castalian springs,
  See Heber gladdens now our sultry plains.
  Yet sweeter far than his most thrilling strains,
The glorious tidings which his message brings.
My lyre, across thy long neglected strings
  Yet once again my feeble hand shall stray,
  Nor, though disowned by every muse, delay
The homage due to him who gifted sings.
  Hail then, and Heaven speed thee on thy way.
    Illustrious pilgrim of our distant shore.
  Rous'd by thy call, enraptured by thy lay,
    May nations learn their Saviour to adore.
For thee the fairest garland shall be twin'd,
The Christian's palm and poet's wreath combin'd

CHAPTER XXV.

Native Christians—Anecdote of the king of Oude—The bishop's illness at Mallaon—Reasons for the governor general visiting the upper provinces—State of Christianity among Europeans—Visit to Meerut—Mr. Fisher—Victories in Ava—Idea among the people of Hindoostan that the British were about to evacuate the upper provinces—Character of the British in Kemaoon—Emperor of Delhi—Repair of the public serais proposed—Taxation—Administration of justice—Substitution of Hindoostance for Persian recommended in the courts of justice—Administration of Oude—Demand for a fourth presidency—Consecration of Churches and burial grounds. 1824—1825.

To C. Lushington, Esq.

Choubee Serai, between Currah and Cawnpoor
October 4, 1824.

"My Dear Sir,

"Many thanks for your kind and interesting letter, which found me yesterday on the fourth day of my gipsey state of existence, marching in company with your cousin and the Corries, between Allahabad and Cawnpoor. The state of the river and premature cessation of the rains made it almost impossible to proceed by boats, and General Martindell good-naturedly procured us tents from Cawnpoor. These, unluckily, are rather on a larger scale than we require, or than the strength of the camels, which the commissariat at Allahabad could spare, are quite equal to; elephants being out of the question during the Burmese war. By the aid of hackeries, however, we do very well; and at Cawnpoor we may get better suited in all respects.

" Since we left Benares the country has been daily increasing in interest, and the contrast of manners, habits, and countenances, between the people of the Dooab and Bengal, is becoming more and more striking. Here every body carries arms, every body walks erect, and with the apparent consciousness of the power of resisting or resenting an injury; and their comparatively fair complexions, their long swords, their long mantles, and method of travelling, all put me in mind, occasionally, of the idea which I have formed of Spain in olden time from Gil Blas, Don Quixote, and Lazarillo de Tormes.

" There are, on the whole, more native Christians than I calculated on finding when I last wrote to you. At Chunar there is really a large congregation, as many as seventy or eighty; still, principally women and soldiers' wives or widows; but who have, most of them, been actual converts, and retain many of their national peculiarities. The women, in receiving the Sacrament, would not lift up their veils, and even received the bread on one corner of them lest their bare hand should be touched. All of a certain age appear to have been brought over by Corrie, while he was in this neighbourhood; the present missionaries do little more, though decent and zealous men, than keep up his numbers. They are prudent, however, and conciliating, and, every body tells me, are respected and esteemed by the natives; a considerable number of whom, from curiosity, if from no better motive, continually attend their places of worship, and frequently invite them to their houses. The system of street-preaching, or obtruding themselves in a forward or offensive manner on the public notice, as is frequently done in Calcutta, is here quite unheard of, at least among the missionaries of the English church. By this quiet way of proceeding, it is probable that few opportunities of doing good will be lost, and that many occasions of mischief and danger will be prevented.

" I have seen reason, thus far, to suspect, what I did not at all expect to find, a growing carelessness of the Hindoos towards their own faith, and a still more growing inclination towards Mahomedanism. Mahomedan prayers and formula of devotion are, I understand, growing into frequent use among

those who still profess themselves worshippers of Brahma ; and the actual number of converts to Islamism is by no means inconsiderable. How far this is favourable to the future progress of Christianity, I do not know ; but I am convinced, from many trifling matters which have occurred, that the chains of caste sit far lighter on the inhabitants of these provinces than on the Bengalees.

" But if the number of native Christians is not great, that of European Christians, even independent of the army, is far greater than I expected. At Allahabad I had sixty, at Benares, I think eighty, and at Chunar, including, indeed, the native Christians, above a hundred and twenty communicants ; and the eagerness and anxiety for more chaplains is exceedingly painful to witness, knowing, as I well know, that the remedy of the evil is beyond the power of government to supply ; and that you are as anxious to give them the required help as they are to obtain it. On this account I have been exceedingly annoyed and disappointed by Mr. Northmore's intention to return to England ; and am still more so by the chance of losing such a man as Mr. Thomason, who well deserves, as far as I have seen, the praise you bestowed on him. As I have reason to think that it will, in many respects, be inconvenient to him to leave India, I cannot help hoping that the grand physician, the cold weather, will put it in his power to remain. I find there are hopes that Mr. Robertson will return. I wish it may be so. Not Westmoreland, before the battle of Agincourt, wished with greater earnestness for ' more men from England' than I do.

" Mr. Williams of Cawnpoor is very ill, and, as I understand, quite unequal to the discharge of his duty. The archdeacon talks of remaining there some time, but he too is very weak and little able to exert himself. I am disposed to be sincerely thankful that my visit to these provinces has been paid while I have yet a tolerable share of my European constitution ; for where help is so scanty, I am often obliged to be bishop, chaplain, and curate all in one ; and in India, though there may be pluralities, there is, verily, no sinecure. Mr. Hawtayne, as you will find by the enclosed document, has declined to become my domestic chaplain. * * * * If Mr.

Thomason really goes home, will you allow me to request your friendly interest in his favour, to succeed him in the appointment of the jail? I have reason to think that he would much prefer this to Howrah, the exertion of which has, at times, been too much for his health.

"Your cousin is quite well. * * He has read more, and more miscellaneously than most lads who come out to India, and his memory, taste, and judgment, are all remarkable, and not the less so from his modest and quiet manner of producing what he knows. I have had a good many visits from natives, during which his Persian and Mr. Corrie's Hindoostanee, have been very useful; my knowledge of the latter tongue being very unequal to talk to gentlefolks, though with a bearer or a coolee it may pass. I find they have most of them a pretty accurate notion of my functions as a 'sirdar chaplain,' though in Benares a report at first prevailed that it was the patriarch of Constantinople who was expected.

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Ever most truly your's,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes,

Cawnpoor, October 16, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Several untoward and unexpected circumstances having occurred to retard my progress through these provinces, I have found it necessary to curtail my intended journey in some of its details; and have, therefore, determined, unless some strong motives to the contrary should offer themselves, to omit, for the present visitation, the station of Mhow, a resolution to which I am induced, partly by the uncertainty whether the government of Bombay have yet been able to assign a chaplain to it, and partly because, from the recent change of garrison and other circumstances, I am led to believe that there are not likely to be many persons who stand in immediate need of my ministry. It is, therefore, my intention to proceed direct from Neemuch to Baroda, at which place I hope to arrive on the seventh or eighth of February. I give you this early notice to prevent the chance

of disappointment to any persons at Mhow, and in the hope of obtaining your valuable advice for my further progress.

"I am so well pleased with the experience which I have hitherto had of marching, that I am much inclined, instead of embarking at Surat for Bombay, to go all the way to Poonah by land, and make the presidency the last place which I shall visit. A little more than a month seems to be sufficient for this purpose, so that I may still reach Bombay by the beginning of April, and before any very hot weather is to be expected. I have even some idea of persuading my wife to be of the party in this excursion, supposing you to have the kindness to escort her as far as Baroda to meet me. I shall, at all events, in taking Bombay last, have the great advantage of being less hurried in my visit there, than if I am obliged to go from thence to Poonah before the heat becomes too great. Pray have the goodness to favour me with your opinion as to the feasibility of this scheme.

"I had written thus far when your friendly letter of Sept. 30, was put into my hand; accept my best thanks for it. The idea that Mr. Robinson would like to be removed to Calcutta, is so new to me, that I cannot at this moment express any opinion on it; but there is certainly no person on the establishment who, from all I hear of him, I should like better to have settled in my immediate neighbourhood. * * * I doubt, however, exceedingly, whether the advantages which such a situation could hold out, would compensate to Mr. Robinson for removing from Poonah. On this we will talk hereafter.

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

The following anecdote, strongly illustrative of eastern superstition and eastern tyranny, is related in the MS. of the bishop's journal. Some circumstances induced the editor to omit its publication, the principal of which was, that, as the king of Oude was then living, and was in the habit of making his *aides de camp* translate English books into Hindoostanee for his information, she apprehended that the engineer, whose history it relates, might again fall under the power of the favourite. That fear having been removed by the king's death, and the imme-

diate dismissal from power of Hukeem Mendee, the prime minister, she no longer hesitates to relate it.

"Many whimsical stories are current in Lucknow, respecting the foibles and blindness of the poor king, and the rascality of his favourite. His fondness for mechanics has been already mentioned. In trying some experiments of this nature, he fell in with a Mussulman engineer of pleasing address and ready talent, as well as considerable, though unimproved, genius for such pursuits. The king took so much delight in conversing with this man, that the minister began to fear a rising competitor, as well knowing that the meanness of his own birth and functions had been no obstacle to his advancement. He therefore sent the engineer word, 'if he were wise to leave Lucknow.' The poor man did so, removed to a place about ten miles down the river, and set up a shop there. The king, on inquiring after his humble friend, was told that he was dead of cholera; ordered a gratuity to be sent to his widow and children, and no more was said. During these last rains, however, the king sailed down the river in his brig of war, as far as the place where the new shop stood; he was struck with the different signs of neatness and ingenuity which he observed in passing, made his men draw in to shore, and, to his astonishment, saw the deceased engineer, who stood trembling, and with joined hands to receive him. After a short explanation he ordered him to come on board, returned in high anger to Lucknow, and calling the minister, asked him again if it were certain that such a man was dead. 'Undoubtedly!' was the reply. 'I myself ascertained the fact, and conveyed your majesty's bounty to the widow and children.' 'Hurumzada!' said the king, bursting into a fury, 'look there, and never see my face more!' The vizier turned round and saw how matters were circumstanced. With a terrible glance, which the king could not see, but which spoke volumes to the poor engineer, he imposed silence on the latter; then turning round again to his master, stopping his nose, and with many muttered exclamations of, 'God be merciful!' 'Satan is strong!' 'In the name of God keep the devil from me!' he said, 'I hope your majesty has not touched the horrible object?' 'Touch him!' said the king, 'the sight of

him is enough to convince me of your rascality.' 'Istufirullah!' said the favourite, 'and does not your majesty perceive the strong smell of a dead carcass?' The king still stormed, but his voice faultered, and curiosity and anxiety began to mingle with his indignation. 'It is certain (refuge of the world,)' resumed the minister, 'that your majesty's late engineer, with whom be peace! is dead and buried; but your slave knoweth not who hath stolen his body from the grave, or what vampire it is who now inhabits it to the terrour of all good Mussulmans. Good were it that he were run through with a sword before your majesty's face, if it were not unlucky to shed blood in the auspicious presence. I pray your majesty, dismiss us; I will see him conducted back to his grave; it may be that when that is opened he may enter it again peaceably.' The king, confused and agitated, knew not what to say or order. The attendants led the terrified mechanic out of the room; and the vizier, throwing him a purse, swore with a horrible oath, that 'if he did not put himself on the other side of the company's frontier before the next morning,—if he ever trode the earth again it should be as a vampire indeed.' This is, I think, no bad specimen of the manner in which an absolute sovereign may be persuaded out of his own senses.

"This weakness of character is probably increased in the king by his habits of life. Like his father he has already taken to drink spirits. We passed one evening the royal suwarree of a coach, several elephants, and some horse-guards, waiting to convey him back from one of his summer palaces where he had been dining. On returning from our drive we found them going away without him, and learned that he had resolved to sleep there. I thought nothing of the circumstance at the time, but on mentioning it to one of the persons best acquainted with his habits, he said, 'Aye, that means that his majesty was not in a fit state to offer himself to the eyes of his subjects.'"

The bishop's recovery from the prevailing epidemic of that year, with which he was seized soon after he left Lucknow, when alone, and without any medical assistance but such as

his own feelings suggested,* is commemorated in the following prayer.

"Written at Sandee in the kingdom of Oude. Nov. 7, 1824.

"I thank Thee O Lord, that Thou hast heard my prayer and helped me in the needful time of trouble; that Thou hast delivered me from sharp sickness and great apparent danger; when I had no skill to heal myself, and when no human skill was near to save me. I thank Thee for the support which Thou gavest me in my hour of trial; that Thou didst not let my sins to triumph over me, neither mine iniquities to sink me in despair. I thank Thee for the many comforts with which Thy mercy surrounded me; for the accommodations of wealth, the security of guards, the attendance and fidelity of servants, the advantage of medicine and natural means of cure, the unclouded use of my reason, and the holy and prevailing prayers which my absent friends offered up for me! But above all I thank Thee for the knowledge of my own weakness, and of Thy great goodness and power, beseeching Thee that the recollection of these days may not vanish like a morning dream, but that the resolutions which I have formed may be be sealed with Thy grace, and the life which Thou hast spared may be spent hereafter in Thy service; that my past sins may be forgiven and forsaken, and my future days may be employed in serving and pleasing Thee, through Thy dear Son Jesus Christ our Saviour." Amen.

To the Right Honourable Lord Amherst.

Camp, Furreedpoor near Bareilly,
November 13, 1824.

"My Dear Lord,

"I seem fated never to address your lordship unless I have some favour to ask; but the present, if you think fit to grant it, is one which will, at least, occasion you very little trouble. I found, in my recent visit to Oude, that the king conceived himself slighted because my coming was not announced in a letter,

* Bishop Heber's "Journal in India," Vol. I. pp. 352, 353, 12mo. edit.—Vol. I. pp. 343, 8vo. edit. Philadelphia.

by the Persian secretary, and with your lordship's signature, which had been always done on former occasions, when persons of any consideration came to Lucknow. This was mentioned by the minister on his first interview with me. It had also been mentioned to Mr. Ricketts, and it appeared to me more dwelt on by the king than I should, *a priori*, have thought it likely to be. I hastened, of course, to say, that I came to his majesty's court in no public character; that my errand in the upper provinces was, strictly to inspect the conduct of the Company's chaplains; and that, from my uncertainty at the time when I left Calcutta, as to the route by which I was to proceed to Meerut, your lordship was not informed whether Lucknow would lie in that route or no. This, I think, satisfied them; and I certainly have had not the smallest reason to complain of want of attention on the part of the king, who has treated me, indeed, with very marked courtesy and kindness. Such being the case, however, will your lordship forgive my suggesting the expediency of your sending a letter to the king, to express yourself not displeased with the attentions he has shown me. Such a letter was, I understand, sent by Lord Hastings after Lady Hood's visit to Lucknow; and it would, in the present instance, be highly gratifying to me, on more accounts than one; both as likely to give pleasure to a sovereign, to whom I am much obliged, and as removing all suspicion from myself of having assumed a character to which I am not entitled, or a rank which is not recognized by government. I was not aware of the etiquette when I took leave of your lordship, or would have requested you then to favour me with the usual credentials. I am, however, by no means sure that this subsequent letter will not be a better thing, inasmuch as it will satisfy the king, while my visit will be more completely divested of any thing which would give it an official appearance, or excite the jealousy of the natives.

"Of that jealousy I must say I have hitherto neither seen nor heard any indications. The very small degree of attention which I have excited has been, apparently, that of curiosity only; the king of Oude and his court expressed a wish to be present at the ceremony of Mr. Ricketts' marriage, pretty much as they

might have done had it been a puppet show ; and as his majesty is said to be curious in costumes, I suspect that the novelty of my lawn sleeves may have, in part, induced him to honour me by asking for my picture.

"From the Brahmins and fakirs of both religions I have had pretty frequent visits. Some of the Mussulmans have affected to treat me as of nearly the same faith with themselves, and to call me *their* ecclesiastical superior as well as of the Christians ; but these compliments have generally concluded with a modest statement (like that of Sterne's Franciscan) of ' the poverty of their order.' A rupee or two, with the request that they would remember me in their prayers, I have found, on such occasions, extremely well taken ; and it has been, I hope, no compromise of my own religious opinions.

"The number of native Christians which have, as yet fallen under my notice is, certainly, not great in itself, though it has rather exceeded my expectations, and *is* great when we bear in mind that every thing of the kind which has been even attempted, has been within the last twenty years, and chiefly by a single person, Mr. Corrie, while chaplain in these provinces. The missionaries now employed have far less success than he had, they are, however, respectable and diligent men, well spoken of by the civil and military servants of the company ; and have, in no instance that I have heard of, (though I have made pretty diligent inquiry) pursued a line of conduct likely to give offence to the natives. With the natives of these provinces, I am led to believe a still greater prudence and moderation is necessary than with those of Bengal. Not that they are a bit more attached to their religion than these last. On the contrary, several instances have fallen within my own knowledge of a great and increasing indifference among the Hindoos to the observances of their faith, and even to caste itself ; while the Mussulmans, though the most zealous of the two, are singularly careless of those devotional ceremonies which a Turk would rather perish than discontinue. They are, too, a more inquisitive and, in some respects, a more free thinking race ; and there is really, as I have been led to suspect, a process going on in the native mind which, if not injudiciously treated, is likely to lead to results

more favourable to Christianity, than any corresponding temper which I have witnessed in the lower provinces.

"But they are on the other hand, (very unlike the Bengalese) a high spirited, a proud and irritable people, as yet, I apprehend, by no means thoroughly reconciled to the English or their government; not unlikely to draw a sabre against any one who should offend their prejudices, and, though caring little for religion in itself, extremely likely to adopt the name of religion as a cockade, if induced by other and less ostensible motives to take up arms against their masters. Under such circumstances, government certainly act most wisely in a careful abstinence from all show of interference; and it is still more fortunate that the inhabitants of these provinces have not at present the remotest suspicion that any such interference is contemplated. Colonel Francklyn of Boglipoor, Mr. Brooke of Benares, Mr. Ricketts, Captain Locket, and all the others most likely to know, to whom I have named the subject, have, on this point, expressed themselves of the same opinion, and nothing of the kind is thought likely to enter into their heads, unless it should be put there by some rascally European. For this, indeed, a free press would be a powerful and appropriate engine; but a free press of the sort which has been contemplated, I hope Heaven will keep, for the present, far enough from this part of the empire.

"In my own conduct I hope I need hardly to assure your lordship, that I have done my best to give no just cause of offence to any; and I have attended carefully to those hints of withdrawal from unnecessary notice, and a marked and exclusive attention to the proper duties of a clergyman, and the inspector of clergymen, which I owe to your lordship's kindness in our last short conversation. In the performance of those duties I have, indeed, found ample employment; and the route which I am now pursuing from Cawnpoor to Meerut, by leading me along a line of considerable stations very much out of the usual reach of clerical assistance, has enabled me, I trust, to be even more useful than, prior to my journey, I had hoped to be.

"With regard to all which I have seen unconnected with the peculiar objects of my journey, I am not aware that I have any

thing to communicate to your lordship, of which you are not likely to be already informed from more authentic sources. In Oude, of the wretched state of which I had heard much, I was rather agreeably disappointed. The country between Cawnpoor and Lucknow, is, much of it indeed, sufficiently desolate; nor from the sour and swampy appearance of the land, do I conceive it, in any hands, to be very susceptible of improvement. But from Lucknow to Shahjehanpoor, though there were many complaints of oppression, I certainly saw nothing like depopulation, or neglect of agriculture; and though this part of Rohilcund undoubtedly offers a spectacle of more apparent wealth and tranquillity, yet the king of Oude's provinces can hardly be said to fall short in external prosperity and population of that part of the Dooab which I have visited.

"Through the company's territories what have, perhaps, struck me most forcibly, are the great moderation and general ability with which the different civil functionaries apparently perform their arduous duties, and the uniform good order and obedience to the laws which are enforced through so vast a tract of country, amid a warlike, an armed, and, I do not think, a very well affected population. The unfavourable circumstances appear to be the total want of honourable employment for the energies and ambition of the higher rank of natives, and the extreme numerical insufficiency of the establishment allowed by the company for the administration of justice, the collection of revenue, and I am almost tempted to say, the permanent security and internal defence of their empire.

"On the whole, I have hitherto been greatly pleased with my journey, so much so that I have frequently regretted the pressure of public business, which seems to render it unlikely that your lordship will be enabled to undertake a similar tour, through provinces of which, to judge by my own experience, it is almost as difficult to obtain an accurate idea in Calcutta as in London. It is not merely on account of the personal gratification and amusement which you would derive from such a journey, for I know that, let a governor of India go where he will, it is probable that care will climb the Sunamooky* and sit

* The name of the governor-general's pinnace.

behind the howdah. Nor is it only for the sake of the renewed health which both yourself and your family would inhale from the cool breezes of the Ganges and the fine frosty mornings which I am now enjoying. But there seems so great an advantage in producing occasionally to this people, in a visible and popular shape, the power and person by whom they are held in subjection; so many valuable objects might be attained by an intercourse and acquaintance between the chief governor, his agents, and his subjects, and from the other opportunities of acquiring knowledge and doing good, of which no man is likely to make a better use than your lordship, that I most fervently wish you a speedy triumph over the Birmans, if it were only for the chance that your lordship may thus be enabled to ascend the Ganges, and inspect some of the most important and interesting parts of northern India. * * * *

"To Lady Amherst, no message which I could send, would express the deep and intense gratitude which I shall never cease to feel for the kindness which she showed to my wife and little ones, in a time of exceeding sorrow and anxiety.

"Believe me, my dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's much obliged,

"and faithful humble servant,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To the Honourable John Adam.

Bareilly, November 15, 1821.

"DEAR SIR,

"Mr. Trail has just communicated to me your truly kind permission to make use of your bungalow during my stay in Almorah, of which I shall gladly avail myself.

"It gave me very great pleasure to hear from our friend Captain Lockett at Lucknow, that I might look forward to seeing you completely restored to health by your residence amid mountains and breezes; your life and powers of exertion are daily becoming so much more valuable and necessary to India,

that I am only one of very many who ardently wish for your entire and permanent restoration.

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Your obliged and faithful servant,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To the Reverend Principal Mill.

Camp, Shahee, Rohilcund, November 18, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Various circumstances have detained me thus long in this part of India, and your very interesting and important letter of October 30th has only this moment reached me, having been forwarded by Mr. Irving from Agra.

"* * I mean to advance to Captain Hutchinson* the sum which he describes as necessary to clear off existing debts, and as much more as may, in your judgment, be absolutely required to finish the works already almost completed, suspending the fitting up the chapel till the college funds may be in a more flourishing condition. Meantime I shall use all diligence in following the course which you recommend (and which entirely meets my views) for assisting those funds.

"I have, certainly, not lost sight of this object in any part of my journey through Hindoostan or Bengal. I have every where made the college, its objects, its present state of efficiency, and its poverty, the subject of conversation; I have done my best to prepare men's minds for the application, which I meditate, and which, for several reasons, I wished to defer till I heard from you again. To back and enforce that application, which I shall now make immediately, the *unfinished state of the works from want of funds*, is a fresh and cogent argument of which I will make the best use in my power.

"I feel greatly obliged and gratified by your prompt acquiescence in, and execution of, my views with regard to the Puharree tribes, and I pray God that we may be blessed by seeing such a primitive establishment as you speak of among them. My

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* The engineer officer engaged in completing the college buildings.—ED.

main anxiety, in the first instance, was to get the start of our competitors, and fix an episcopal clergyman in immediate connexion with, and dependance on, Bishop's College, in a spot, the cultivation of which may eventually place that college at the head of a connected chain of missions as extensive, and in a purer faith, than the Jesuit 'Reductions' of Paraguay.

"It is very pleasing to see the hold which the Church of England apparently retains on the minds and recollections of the majority of the English, in the remoter stations. I may almost say, that the degree of Christianity which many of them retain, is worked up and derived from the prayer-book; and that, if it had not been for their customary, though occasional, use of our beautiful offices, they would almost have lost sight of the religion in which they were educated. I have, I hope, been of some service by shaping my course through stations remote from the ordinary attendance of chaplains, and even sacrificing some time for the sake of passing Sundays there. I have been surprised in Lucknow, Allahabad, &c., by the number of people who have *recollected*, as it were, that they had not been confirmed, and have expressed an anxiety to receive both this rite and the sacrament. And I have been much gratified, in three or four instances, by persons, brought up in the established religion of Scotland, desiring to express, by these means, their preference of our forms of worship.

"I am now on my way to Almorah, where I hope to pass a Sunday. I have been encouraged to go there by the sort of harvest which I have reaped in Lucknow, Shahjehanpoor, and Bareilly, and partly by a wish to converse with Mr. Adam respecting the points which have been the subject of our late correspondence. I write in a hurry to be able to send this letter by the same suwarr who brought me your's."

The bishop heard from many quarters of the unsettled state of the countries through which his visitation was now to lead him. The fear of personal danger would not make him relinquish the journey, so long as he found that it could be beneficial to others; but he wrote the following letter to the editor, under the impression that he might not live to see her again.

In His mercy God guided him in safety through many and great perils; and, doubtless, in equal mercy, though the motives of this mysterious dispensation are hidden from our eyes, did He take him from this world, at a time when he was surrounded by friends, and with every assistance which their kindness could bestow.

To my dear Wife—in case of my death.

Shahee, Rohilcund, Nov. 18, 1824.

"As I am engaged in a journey in which there is, I find, a probability of more and greater dangers than I anticipated, I write these few lines to my dear wife, to assure her that, next to the welfare of my immortal soul (which I commit, in humble hope, to the undeserved mercies of my God and Lord Jesus Christ) the thought of her and of my beloved children is, at this moment, nearest my heart, and my most earnest prayers are offered for her and their happiness and holiness, here and hereafter. Should I meet my death in the course of the present journey, it is my request to her to be comforted concerning me, and to bear my loss patiently; and to trust in the Almighty to raise up friends, and give food and clothing to herself and her children. It is also my request that she would transmit my affectionate love, and the assurance of my prayers to my dear mother, and to my father-in-law; to Mrs. Yonge, my uncle and aunt Allanson, my beloved brother and sister, and all with whom I am connected by blood or marriage, particularly Harriet Douglas and Charlotte Shipley. I beg her to transmit the same assurance of my continued affection and prayers to my dear friend Charlotte Dod, also to my dear friends Thornton, C. Williams Wynn, Wilmot, and Davenport.

"I am not aware of any advantageous alteration which I could make in the will which I left at Calcutta, and I am too poor to leave legacies. I will, therefore, only send my blessing to my dear wife and children, and to the valuable relations and friends whom I have enumerated, begging them to fear and love God above all things, and so to endeavour to serve Him, as that, through the worthiness and compassion of His Son, in whom

only I trust, we may meet in a happy eternity. Amen! Amen! May God hear my prayers for myself and them, for the sake of our blessed Saviour!

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To J. Phillimore, Esq. LL. D.

Almorah, Nov. 29, 1824.

"* * * I have only time to say that all is, *at present*, quiet in the Upper Provinces of India, and I think likely to continue so, unless any remarkable reverses occur on the side of Ava. A general revolt was, a little time since, thought not unlikely, but the period seems now gone by; and the alarming mutiny at Barackpoor was apparently made in concert with no other regiment. But there certainly is, in all the Dooab, in Oude, and Rohilcund, an immense mass of *armed, idle, and disaffected* population, and I am inclined to doubt whether the honourable company's tenure of their possessions is worth many years' purchase, unless they place their army on a more numerous establishment than it now is, and do something more for the internal improvement of the country, and the contentment of the higher ranks of natives than they have hitherto seemed inclined to do. I am quite well, and am now on a very interesting journey through a part of Kemaoon, enjoying frosty mornings, cool breezes, and the view of the noblest mountains under heaven.

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Shahjehanpoor, near Meerut, Dec. 16, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Your kind and interesting letter has just reached me, having been forwarded from Agra, at which place I can now only hope to arrive the 12th of next month. I purpose, please God, to be at Jyepoor, Jan. 29th; at Nusseerabad, Feb. 6th; at Neemuch, the 24th; and, following the route which you have marked out, about the 22d of March, at Ahmedabad; provided I find the way thither from Neemuch open and adviseable; if not, I shall proceed direct to Kairah.

"The many calls on my time and attention which have detained me so much longer than I expected in these provinces, (where, indeed, the harvest of probable usefulness is so great, and the calls for ministerial help so loud and numerous, that I could not with propriety make greater haste than I have done,) has put marching to Poonah from Surat out of the question, even if your report of the intervening country had been more favourable. And I, therefore, am writing by this post to the government of Bombay, both to request the different aids for my land journey, and to obtain the necessary guarantee for the consecration of the new churches, and to beg them to send a small vessel to Surat for me the beginning of April. I apprehend, from your account of Ahmedabad, that there is little which need detain me there, so that I may hope to get to Kairah on the 24th. Four days will, I conclude, suffice both for the confirmation which I propose to hold there, and for the consecration of the church and the burial-ground. By going dâk to Baroda, I may pass the whole or the greater part of Passion-week there; and as there seems as little of professional duty to be done at Broach as at Ahmedabad, I may hope to pass the latter part of Easter week and the following Sunday (April 11th) at Surat, and to arrive at Bombay before the middle of that month. This is, indeed, allotting a far shorter time to the visitation of Guzerat than you anticipated, or than I could have desired; but for essentials it will, I trust, be sufficient. And it seemed better to pass hastily through places which have enjoyed both a resident ministry, and the great advantage of your annual visitations, rather than omit entirely, which I otherwise must have done, stations where many persons have been for years without hearing a sermon, or receiving the sacrament, or even obtaining baptism for their children. I shall, of course, be happy to administer confirmation wherever even a very small number of suitable candidates is found; judging from what I have seen in this presidency, I should hope that, between children and adults, Kairah, Baroda and Surat would furnish no inconsiderable number. I have had thus far, to omit some smaller stations, twenty-two at Dacca; forty, I think, at Benares; eighty at Chunar; ninety at Cawnpoor, and I am told to anti-

cipate an equal number at Meerut and Agra. It is true that many of these have been native converts ; but I have also found a considerable number of applicants from the European soldiery and residents and from some who had been educated in the Church of Scotland, and who took this opportunity of publicly testifying their preference of our liturgy and discipline. At all events, I shall be happy to receive as many or as few as may offer themselves with the necessary qualifications ; and I shall be extremely obliged to you if you will write to the chaplains at the stations which I have named, as well as at Poonah and Tannah, requesting them to make known to their flocks the probable time of my arrival, and to enforce on them, by persuasion and argument, the duty and advantage of availing themselves of of an ordinance so edifying and apostolic.

"With respect to the appointment of the chaplains to preach in those churches which are to be consecrated, I have hitherto (at least since leaving Calcutta) been compelled to follow a practice not very consonant to the general custom in England; I mean that of preaching myself on such occasions. This arose, in the first instance from the illness of poor Stowe, who was to have preached at Dacca, and the difficulty which Mr. Parish, the chaplain of the place, expressed in preparing himself at such short notice. At Benares also, I found that a general expectation had been raised that I was to preach on that occasion ; so general indeed, that I thought it best under all circumstances, not to disappoint it. The same expectation will, I find, at Meerut compel me to the same line of conduct ; and on the whole, having begun, I think it best to go on in the same manner through the present visitation, and till I have a chaplain of my own, to take off my shoulders this and some other burthens. There is another deficiency which, on these occasions, an Indian bishop feels ; I mean the want of a registrar, who, as you are aware, is an essential and important person on such occasions. Mr. Stacey could not possibly leave Calcutta ; nor could I get any legal practitioner to supply his place without an expense which the government would not, and I could not bear. At Benares and Dacca, therefore, (and I am taught to expect the same at Meerut,) one of the principal civil servants of the com-

pany, did me the honour to volunteer his services to present the deed of consecration, &c. Perhaps you will have the goodness to suggest this to some of the gentlemen at Kairah, &c.

"My visitation may, I think, be conveniently fixed for the last Thursday in April, the 28th, at as early an hour in the morning as the habits of society in Bombay will admit of. In Calcutta at half-past six we had a very numerous congregation. With respect to the choice of a preacher, I must ask your friendly counsel and assistance. There is a clergyman in your archdeaconry, who, though I have not seen him for many years, and he was then a very young man, has left a strong and pleasing recollection on my mind of his amiable manners and promising talents, and whom I have been anxious to hear preach ever since my arrival in India; I mean Dr. George Barnes. Do you think he would favour me by undertaking the task? Or is there any point of ecclesiastical favour (if there is, it does not occur to me) which makes it necessary to fix on another? I should, indeed, unless any circumstance makes it unfit or unpleasant for you to officiate, in which case pray deal frankly with me, be extremely obliged to you to undertake the task. If you cannot, my wishes would point to Mr. Robinson, to whom, to save unnecessary delay, will you have the goodness to make those wishes known? With regard to Mr. Robinson and his appointment to my domestic chaplaincy, when I last wrote to you I had not received the principal's letter, in which the compatibility of that situation with a professorship at bishop's college was suggested. This has, in a great measure, removed the principal difficulty from my mind, which was, that to transfer Mr. Robinson from near the top of one list of chaplains to put him at the very bottom of another, would be inflicting on him a very serious injury, supposing it otherwise practicable. As it is I have written to ascertain some other points; such as whether government would consent to his transfer and to his holding an office in the college, with other matters which it would be well to clear up before the idea gets abroad. As soon as I have received the result of those inquiries, I will let you know without delay. At present you will see that they are chiefly Mr. Robinson's interests about which I hesitate, though

I should not wish, if it could be avoided, to commit myself before I have had some conversation with you.

"Many thanks for your kind offer to escort my wife, as also for your judicious advice respecting her. She has found so great difficulty in obtaining a passage in any suitable vessel to Bombay, that I fear I must give up the hope of meeting her there entirely.

"Tuesday the 26th of April may, I think, be a good day for the confirmation at Bombay. With regard to this however, as well as the visitation, I shall be glad to profit by your advice.

"Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Ever very truly your's,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

The bishop passed the Christmas of 1824 at Meerut. On that day he wrote the following prayer under a depression of spirits arising from the prospects before him, and from the lengthened separation from his family, a depression which, at this time, he frequently experienced, and for which he always sought and found relief at the throne of Grace.

"Oh God be with me in this my pilgrimage! The more I am deprived of earthly friends, do Thou draw nearer unto me, and incline my soul the more, by Thy grace, to rest on Thee! Keep me from trifling pursuits, from neglect of customary duties, from forgetfulness of my calling and of Thee! Keep me from vanity and worldly care. Occupy my soul with thoughts of Thy name, and with the appropriate pursuits of my profession. Make me frequent and earnest in prayer and in the study of Thy word. And grant, if it be Thy blessed will, that my present journey may be to the good of Thy church, and the increase and furtherance of Thy glorious kingdom!

"Grant a continuance of Thy mighty protection to myself and my dear wife and children, and bring us by our several ways to meet in safety and prosperity! But teach us, above all things, to trust in Thee, and to acquiesce in Thy wise disposal; granting us in this world a knowledge and love of Thy name,

and in the world to come Thy mercy, through thy Son our Saviour. *Amen.*"

Of this visit to Meerut, Mr. Fisher, who has long resided there as chaplain, gives the following account :—

"Our dear and respected bishop has left an impression behind him, which, I think, will not soon or easily pass away. He interested himself about every minute circumstance of this beloved vineyard, accompanied me to my native congregation, visited my native school, and saw and conversed with many of the Christians who were introduced to him, with the affability and kindness which we had been prepared to expect."

To the Right Honourable Lord Amherst,

Maunpoor (territory of Jyepoor,) Jan. 24, 1825.

"My Dear Lord,

"When I had last the honour of addressing you from the neighbourhood of Bareilly, I little suspected to how imminent a danger your lordship, your family, and the Anglo-Indian state had been exposed from the extraordinary and lamentable mutiny at Barrackpoor. I have now to congratulate you, not only on your providential escape, and your success in suppressing a spirit which threatened such ruinous consequences, but on the brilliant succession of victories which have been gained in the neighbourhood of Rangoon, the effect of which on the native mind is by no means imperceptible or equivocal even in this remote part of India.

"Few rulers (I cannot help saying) have deserved success more than your lordship, since few have ever begun a war with more reluctance than you are generally understood to have done ; and none ever evinced greater firmness and perseverance in the conduct of a war, as necessary as its difficulties have rendered it unpopular with many of those who were, at first, most anxious for it. There are very many things in British India which I was not prepared to expect, but the number of 'frondeurs,' is, I confess, one of those which have most surpris-

ed me. Success, however, such as we have recently heard of if it does not satisfy, is, at least, the only thing to silence them; and it is my sincere hope, and (I will add) both on public and private grounds, my prayer, that in the successes and repose of your lordship's remaining residence in India, you may find some compensation for the harassing and anxious months which since your arrival in the country, have made your firmness and perseverance so conspicuous. Here, as your lordship is aware, we are all quiet; and the late attack on Culpee, which has excited much surprise, and might, under other circumstances, have led to more serious mischief, was so happily met by the public rejoicings for the victory at Rangoon, that the disaffected, be they many or few, seem well disposed to acquiesce in the ancient fame of English invincibility.

"The report, indeed, that our government was about to evacuate this part of India, had, as I understand, been gradually dying away ever since the conclusion of the rainy season. It had, no doubt, been industriously propagated from mischievous motives, but its origin may be easy to account for. The people of Hindoostan had already once seen the English government, after extensive conquests, give up vast tracts of country, and retire within their ancient limits; and the incessant march of troops to the eastward which they witnessed a few months back, joined to the vague reports which reached them of a war with Ava, and their knowledge that a new governor general was lately arrived, may not unnaturally have led them to believe that, from necessity or otherwise, an entire change had taken place in British policy, and that your lordship was about to evacuate the conquests of Lord Hastings, in the same manner as Lord Cornwallis gave up the new provinces acquired by his predecessor. From whatever cause, the suspicion was, certainly, very widely spread and had the effect of encouraging the enemies, and alarming the friends of government. In Rohilcund, my servants told me, that, even so trifling a circumstance as my going through the country, with a numerous escort and a certain degree of official rank, in an opposite course from the supposed tide of European emigration, produced a good deal of surprise among the people of the villages, and led them to think more fa-

vourably of the continuance of English rule than they had previously done. And, in my late journey through Bhurtpoor, the Raja of which showed me great hospitality and attention, I could not help observing, that a repair of his fortresses had been begun, but, apparently, again discontinued during the last five or six months. It is possible, indeed, that the ill humour then displayed by the Rannee of Jyepoor may have led him to think some warlike preparations necessary. The Rannee herself, who, as a princess of the house of Oodeypoor, has an almost hereditary title to be ambitious and intriguing, is now described by her subjects as in high spirits and exceedingly fond of the English; and I passed, yesterday, a golden image set with precious stones, which she is sending, under a strong escort, to the temple of Bindrabund, in consequence, as is believed, of a vow, and as a thanksgiving for the favourable termination of her discussions with your lordship's agents.

"Since I last wrote to your lordship, I have had a long and interesting journey by Almorah, Meerut, Delhi and Agra, and am now anxious, after as short a stay at Nusserabad as my duties at the station will allow, to pass on to Guzerat and Bombay, before the hot winds overtake me.

"My digression to Almorah was by no means one of curiosity only; * * * * * * *

"Kemaoon is a very interesting country; some of its views exceed in sublimity any thing which I have seen in Norway, and more than equal all which I have heard or read of Switzerland. The people, too, are very interesting; they are wretchedly poor, but they are kind-hearted, hospitable, and honest to a degree which I have not witnessed in any other part of India; and from all which I observed myself or heard from others, this is one of the parts of India where the British are really loved and their government acknowledged as a blessing. I was forcibly struck in passing through this province with the persuasion that it is here that the plan, which I heard your lordship suggest in conversation, of cultivating tea within the limits of the empire might be most successfully carried into execution. The more cultivated parts of Kemaoon, with their little terraces, one over the other, up the sides of the steepest hills, though on a wilder

and loftier scale, recalled to my mind all the views I have seen of the mountainous provinces of China. The industry of the people and the extremely low rate of wages would seem to offer additional facilities to the experiment; and, as Mr. Trail assured me, they are themselves strongly impressed with the notion that the tea plant grows wild in their woods, and that they only want people to show them the way of preparing it to make their country as rich and prosperous as that of the 'Cheen-ka-moolk.'

"The north of the Dooab, and the whole province of Delhi, I saw (I apprehend) at a very unfavourable time, while they were suffering most severely from their long drought, and before their hopes had been revived by the moderate rain which, though somewhat too late, has since fallen. In all respects, however, (in their houses, dress, appearance, industry, and civility,) the villagers of this district struck me as the worst off that I have seen; exceedingly inferior to those of Rohilcund, and falling short even of Oude and such of the Rajapoots as I have visited, though these last have suffered from drought as well as themselves. I should almost apprehend that the country being naturally barren, and having suffered more than other districts during the tyranny of the Mahrattas, is unable to recover itself without some greater encouragement to agriculture, than on the present system of quinquennial settlements the collectors are able to afford; and that the grant of a longer term, which it is understood government have had in view, will do more than any thing else to restore the people to industrious habits and to a confidence in their rulers. At present, I was concerned to find it a general opinion among the officers of the king's regiments at Meerut, that the Company's subjects in that district were poorer, more dispirited, and more averse to the English than those of any of the neighbouring jaghires. In the distress of its neighbourhood Delhi itself, however, by no means appears to share. It is evidently a wealthy and flourishing town, with an orderly and industrious population, with conspicuously fewer beggars and, as I am told, fewer crimes than any other large city in India. All these advantages are said to have greatly increased since the completion of its fortifications, the security

conferred by which has drawn a great mass of wealth and industry within its bounds; while at the same time they offer great facilities to the maintenance of order, and the effective and regular collection of revenue. If it were possible to repair in an efficient manner the walls of the other great cities of this part of India, few measures I am inclined to believe would be more popular with the people, or facilitate more the views of government for their benefit.

"I went, as your lordship is perhaps aware, to the court of the poor old prince, whose name was, in the time of our boyhood, associated as 'Great Mogul,' with every possible idea of wealth and grandeur. The palace, though dismally dirty and ruinous, is still very fine, and its owner is himself a fine and interesting ruin. His manner, and I understand, his general character, is one of extremely courteous acquiescence, and resignation, and in essential points he has unquestionably good reason to think himself fortunate in the hands into which he has fallen.

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"There is a part of Lord Hasting's policy here which seems generally thought questionable, and which, if intended to conciliate, has entirely failed of its effect: I mean the large sums which he directed to be laid out in the restoration of the public monuments of the Mussulmans. The Taj-Mahal of Agra is, indeed, so beautiful and unique a work that it would be a reproach to any government which should suffer it to fall to decay; but the repair of Acbar's tomb at Secundra, and some other works of the same kind, are what the Mussulman's themselves, had they remained in power, would hardly have thought it necessary to do; what they do not thank us for doing, and what seems scarcely desirable for those whose interest it is that the memory of former and rival dynasties should be forgotten. But the main objection seems to be, that the repair of these ornamental buildings swallows up money which might be more usefully and popularly expended, in the making canals, the mending roads, and, above all, the reparation of the splendid serais constructed on the different roads by the Mogul emperors. There is no institution so valuable in the present state of India as these

establishments, which, if restored or even kept up on a proper footing, might shelter European as well as native travellers; and, by affording safe lodgement at night for private or public property, curtail, by two-thirds, the escorts of troops which are, at present, continually required, besides relieving individuals exceedingly from the expenses of camp equipage. If such a measure were found practicable on any extensive scale, it would, I am convinced, give your lordship a popularity among the natives of these provinces which no British governor has ever enjoyed, and which has fallen to none of their own princes since the time of Acbar. But, alas! I am well aware of the many heavy calls for treasure which are, from other quarters, made on you; and I am not insensible how heavy a charge of presumption may lie on myself in thus offering my opinion. I should not have ventured to do so had it not been in the hope, which I expressed in my former letter, that your lordship may one day visit these provinces yourself; in which case, it is possible that my hints may have their use, in calling your attention to points which (in your elevated station, and travelling, as you must do, in a very different manner from me) would hardly be likely to offer themselves to your notice.

"Of Rajpootana I have, as yet, seen little, but what little I have seen seems interesting. My medical companion, Dr. Smith, who has long known most parts of Central India, professes himself struck by the gradual improvement which has taken place in the country since the power of the Maharattas was humbled; and a conversation between some of the natives, which we both of us overheard last night, proves that they are themselves sensible of the advantages which they have derived from the extension of the British power in this quarter.

"With regard to my own professional pursuits, I have not much additional information to offer. I was greatly pleased with the church, chaplain, and congregation of Meerut, all of which are more English than any thing of the kind which I have seen in India. In Mr. Fisher, the chaplain, I had, I confess, been led to expect some share of fanaticism and intemperate zeal, of both which I am bound to acquit him. The sermon which I heard him preach, was extremely plain and sensible;

and with regard to his native converts, who are numerous, he has solemnly assured me, and I have not the smallest reason to disbelieve him, that he has sought after none of them, and given instruction to none who did not voluntarily come to request it of him. Two such came while I was in Meerut; and a third, during the same time, received baptism. Mr. Fisher asked me to perform this ceremony myself, but, in consequence of the rule which I have laid down, not to become needlessly conspicuous in the pursuit of objects which are not my immediate concern, I declined. For the same reason I have abstained from distributing tracts, or acting in any way which might excite the jealousy of those whom it is, on all accounts, desirable to conciliate. The work of conversion is, I think, silently going on, but those who wish it best will be most ready to say '*festina lente*.'

"My dear Lord,

"Your much obliged and faithful humble servant,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To C. Lushington, Esq.

Doobee, Jyepoor territory, Jan. 25, 1825.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am much ashamed of my long silence when I look to the date of your letter, and recollect the truly friendly promptitude with which you so powerfully seconded my wish in obtaining the usual travelling allowances for my chaplain, in the case of my being hereafter accompanied by one. But the camp, even of a non-military man, is, I find by daily experience, by no means a favourable place for writing letters, or indeed for any sedentary employment. And the weather has been so fine, and there has been so much to see, that I have been perplexed to find time for some long and necessary letters to England; and have now ranged before me a mass of unanswered correspondence, as appalling to my resolution as I feel it burdensome to my conscience.

"Your cousin has probably given you some account of Kemaoon, and of the spirited movement by which he escaped from

his surgeon's hands, and obtained a sight of those splendid mountains. His re-accession to my party was a very great pleasure to me; and I had good hopes, till our arrival at Agra, that we should have marched together, according to our first plan, as far as Nusseerabad. Unfortunately, the inflammation in his eye, which, during our journey from Delhi had been giving him a good deal of trouble, was here so much increased, and he had received so earnest an injunction from Mr. Luxmore to return to him without delay, that, as his friend, I could not honestly advise him to remove himself still further from Lucknow, and he made up his mind to return thither. This has been a serious disappointment to me; and it was a resolution to which he himself came with great and visible unwillingness. Though I cannot hope to find easily a compensation for the loss of his society, I am still not alone. During my stay at Meerut, several of my friends there insisted strongly on the inconvenience and danger of undertaking the journey to Bombay without a medical attendant; adding, that there was an assistant surgeon then at Meerut, a Dr. Smith, whose services, as they were unappropriated, could be readily made over to me. I hesitated for some time, though, to say the truth, I had frequently found occasion to wish for such a companion, not only during the illness of poor Stowe, whose life might have been perhaps saved had medical aid been earlier at hand, but during my own illness in Oude, and the subsequent danger of four of my escort from jungle fever. Under the assurance that no inconvenience or injury was likely to arise to the service from Dr. Smith's returning to Calcutta, viâ Bombay, I did not think myself justified in declining such a security, and applied to General Reynell to assign him to attend me.

"I have been long wishing to have your opinion about a plan which has been sent me by some of the wealthy country born inhabitants of Calcutta, for building a chapel by subscription, and, if I understand them rightly, paying the preacher from the same source. It appears in no respect to differ from the plan of Colonel Skinner, at Delhi, except that they do not require government to supply them with a chaplain. I conclude that it is a matter in which government would see no rea-

son for interfering one way or the other, and against which, at all events, no objection would lie. Still, I do not wish to give a positive answer till I know whether it interferes with any of your own plans for the benefit of Calcutta. Their idea, as far as I understand it, is to connect their church with their present grammar school.

"I need hardly say how much I was gratified by the opportunity afforded me of being introduced to your friend Mr. Adam, who is, indeed, an extraordinary man, both in talents, extent of information, and the agreeable and unassuming manner in which he wears his commanding abilities. I am sorry to see him apparently less recruited by his residence in the hills than I hoped he would have been. Ere this reaches you, you will, I trust, have him safely in Calcutta, and I shall be heartily glad to learn that your opinion of his health is favourable."

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Neemuch, February 28, 1825.

"My Dear Sir,

"I have been prevented from writing to you for the last month, partly by the extreme difficulty which I found till lately, owing to the absence of Captain Macdonald from Neemuch, and Captain Cobbe from Oodeypoor, in obtaining the necessary information as to my way into Guzerat, or the time when I might calculate on arriving there, and still more, during the last fortnight, by very melancholy and distressing accounts which I received from Calcutta of the health of both my little girls, and the deep distress of my poor wife. I had, in fact, at one time, prepared a letter to you announcing my intention to relinquish the visitation of Bombay, and the pleasure and advantage which I hoped to derive from meeting you, and return the nearest way to Calcutta. A second and more favourable letter arrived, however, and I pursued my road to this place, though still unable to decide positively whether I should proceed to Guzerat, or strike off for the Ganges by the way of Bundlecund, for which route, which would have enabled me to visit the important station of Saugur, Neemuch was very little out of my way

from Nusseerabad. Here I have, thank God, received better accounts, and purpose, this evening, to continue my journey southwards. I have, with much reluctance, been obliged finally to abandon Mhow, from the unavoidable circumstances which have made me a week later at Neemuch than I expected; and in consequence of the representation of Captain Macdonald, that after the 10th or 12th of April, the voyage from Surat is very difficult and tedious. As to Aboo, it has long since been out of the question; indeed, during the present year, I could not have gone thither under any circumstances, without the risk of starving my camels, horses and elephants.

"My present plan is, accordingly, to go straight to Baroda, at which place I hope to arrive on Sunday morning, the 20th March. I purpose preaching there that day, and holding a confirmation, should there be any candidates, on the Tuesday or Wednesday following. To Kairah, I conceive it will be desirable to proceed by dák on Wednesday night, to have the confirmation on Saturday morning, and on Sunday the consecration. My reason for having this after the other is, that the persons confirmed will thus have an opportunity of receiving the sacrament. Ahmedabad it will be necessary to relinquish. The account which you gave of it leads me to believe that there will be little or nothing for me to do there professionally. Any persons who wish for confirmation there may come over, without difficulty, to Kairah, and I shall have no time to bestow on visiting antiquities. I had, indeed, at first, as you are aware, intended visiting Ahmedabad, Kairah, and Baroda, consecutively; but I find that there is no tolerable road, and, during the present year, no forage or provisions in the countries which lie between this place and Ahmedabad.

"For my return from Kairah, and my subsequent progress towards Surat, I request your friendly and judicious advice. It would be very desirable to press on directly, stopping only a day at Baroda on my way, so as to arrive at Broach on Thursday; preach there on Good Friday, and thence proceed to Surat for Easter-day. I do not like, however, travelling in Passion week, if it can be avoided; and you best know how far the time which I have allotted will be sufficient for my duties at Kairah

and Baroda, and what accuracy there is in the information which I have received as to the difficulty of sailing from Surat after the first week or ten days in April. You also best know whether it will be necessary to stop at Broach at all, and whether I should not do better in proceeding immediately to Surat, and passing both Good Friday and Easter-day there.

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"I grieve to hear, from Captain Macdonald, that it will be impossible to sail from Bombay towards Calcutta before the middle of June. I had always calculated on getting away as soon as ever I had done my duty at Poonah, which would, I concluded, be the middle of May. I have many strong reasons for sailing as soon as it can be done safely.

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Ever your sincere friend,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To the Right Honourable C. W. Williams Wynn.

Pertabghur, March, 1825.

* * * * *

"A more serious complaint advanced against us by the natives of Upper India, is the high rent which our government imposes on their lands, and the alleged vexatious manner in which we inquire into their tenures and improvements. They own, indeed, that they are far better off in this respect in our provinces than in Oude, as being free from the many irregular extortions to which the land-holders of that country are liable. Still they say, and I apprehend with some truth, that the rate by which we measure them, is higher than any native government exacts for its use, or by its avowed principles of taxation; and that, though in point of *law*, the emperors of Delhi laid claim to quite as large a proportion of the profits as we demand, in point of *fact* they were far more easily satisfied and less inquisitive. I have heard this complaint made by more than one zemindar; and on repeating it to some of the collectors in the northern provinces, though not very willing to allow the complaint, they did not deny that there might be some truth in it; observing

that a collector who sought to recommend himself to the supreme government, or even to escape its censure, could not often venture to be very liberal. They, therefore, wish exceedingly, at least the greater part of them, for a settlement like that of Bengal, though not perpetual, yet for a lease of twelve or twenty years. And the time really seems now arrived at which a moderate settlement of this kind would be advantageous to all parties; at present the taxes are leased by government for terms of five years only.

"Both these evils are, however, far less grievous than the imperfect administration of justice. For this I am very far from blaming the magistrates themselves. The far greater part of them throughout Northern India deserve the praise which I gave to those of Bengal; and the misfortune is, that more is required of them in this climate, and under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, than it would be reasonable to expect from any men, even in their own country. The whole police, the entire civil and criminal jurisdiction of a district larger and more populous than most English counties, are in many instances, entrusted to one young man, without any help but that of the native officers of his court, men uniformly taken from the lowest rank, and notoriously neither respected nor respectable. Supposing the judge, under such circumstances, to be an angel, it is next to impossible but that some business must run into arrear, or else be carelessly performed; while, in this climate, offences which occur at a distance from his court will continually escape unpunished, from reluctance of the prosecutors to go so far from home, or their inability to attend, day after day, till it is possible for them to obtain a hearing. Accordingly it is generally found that a district improves rapidly, not only in peace and order, but in cultivation and revenue, by the establishment of a resident magistrate within it; and that land is more improved, and ryuts settle more readily, where there is a chance of protection for life and property.

"Furreedpoor, a small district between Dacca and Calcutta, has been turned from a mere jungle and den of thieves, into a fertile and beautiful neighbourhood by such a measure; and the province of Ghazeepoor, since it has been separated from Be-

nares, has improved, if I was rightly informed, no less than three fold. Accordingly, all the public men with whom I have conversed in what are called the 'mofussil,' or provincial stations of India, have agreed that no greater benefit could be conferred on the country, than the appointment of twenty or thirty new judges and magistrates from Europe; unless, which many of them think preferable, a sufficient number of respectable natives in each district were invested with powers resembling those of English justices of the peace. It is not, indeed, to be expected that they would do it without salary, (unless they expected to pay themselves by underhand means,) but the expense to government would be small in proportion to the benefit conferred. The same individual might be tussildar and magistrate, (hakeem,) and a few hundred rupees a month, in addition to the salary which they at present receive, would, with the permission to have silver sticks, and other insignia of office carried before them, make the situation coveted by the most respectable Hindoo and Mussulman families. And if, for more important causes, they were assembled four times a year in sessions, of which the European magistrate of the district should be chairman, I really believe that the greatest advantage would arise to him as well as to them, by their mutually becoming acquainted with each other, and by the latter feeling themselves sharers in the honours and government of their native land.

"This, however, is not the only change which is required in the courts of justice, though this would do much, by bringing in an effectual check on the corruption and venality of the present judge's servants, which could not go on so enormously if they had more eyes on them, and those the eyes of their own countrymen. I am not qualified to speak as yet to the good or evil effect of the present complicated system pursued in the higher courts of adawlut, though I have never met with any body who did not think that system in great need of improvement, or who did not confess that it was extremely odious to the natives. But one single change would do much to improve it, by substituting the Hindoostanee for the Persian language in all law proceedings. The latter is read or spoken, or even understood with facility, by comparatively few of the company's civil or military

servants. It has ceased for some time to be the colloquial language of Lucknow, Delhi, and the other principal courts of India. None of the lower or middling classes learn it unless they are breeding up for the law; and consequently, in nineteen causes out of twenty, the parties concerned know nothing of what is said on their behalf by their vakeels, (counsel and attorneys,) while all the evidence given in court is translated, and written down in a new language, before it comes before the persons who are finally to decide on it. The arguments by which the favourers of the present system support it, are, that it is a convenience to the courts of appeal to have all law proceedings in the same tongue, and that in many districts of India, Hindoostanee itself is as little known as Persian. The first may be true, but its object would be secured by the use of Hindoostanee. The second is only true with very great qualifications, inasmuch, as though Bengal and many other of the company's provinces have, certainly, their peculiar dialects, yet Hindoostanee is understood almost every where, even by those who do not themselves speak it correctly. It is the only language used in the army, by Europeans in conversing with their servants, and by well educated natives in conversing with each other. And though, in one or two instances, I have been addressed in Persian as a foreigner, under the idea that it might be the more familiar to me of the two, yet I can answer, I think, for pretty nearly the whole presidency of Fort William, that Hindoostanee is as much the national language, and with about the same amount of exceptions, as English is of the island of Great Britain. Nor do I conceive, except the vakeels, and a few of the senior members of the sudder in Calcutta, who are naturally hostile to change, that an individual is to be found in India, who would not rejoice at the substitution which I have suggested.

"As to the use of English in our courts, it could only have entered the head of a person who knew nothing out of Calcutta; inasmuch as, beyond the Maharatta ditch, I believe there are not five hundred natives in all Bengal and Hindoostan who have even the slightest knowledge of our language, beyond the words of command which the sepoys learn like parrots. Even the wives of European soldiers converse in Hindoostanee with their husbands.

"But if Hindoostanee were used in the courts of justice, so as to make the proceedings generally intelligible, the advantages would not stop with the parties immediately concerned. A cause when it becomes intelligible, becomes interesting. There would be an audience formed of neighbours and populace, who would serve as a check on the conduct of witnesses, pleaders, and officers of the court. The worst of these would fear the expression of popular opinion, and the judge would hear from many different quarters if any person were notoriously corrupt or grossly perjured. And if the system of introducing natives of rank as assessors were found practicable to a sufficient extent, I cannot help thinking that our courts of justice, instead of being merely regarded as better than absolute anarchy, would be preferred by the natives to all the institutions of punchaets, &c. which are held in most reverence where our rule has not yet extended.

"After all, I believe that the company's subjects in Hindoostan are, on the whole, *contented*. But it is to make them *attached* that I think a trial should be made; and to do so, a very few improvements, I conceive, are all that is necessary.

"With the apparently inextricable difficulties which seem to beset the administration of Oude, and our connexion with it, you are too well informed for me to give you any fresh lights. In that country, I have no doubt, if our system of adawlut were changed, that our assumption of the territory would, under present circumstances, make a festival from Belgaram to Tandah. Yet it is only fair to say that, notwithstanding the loud complaints which I heard from every side in passing through it, I saw no symptoms of depopulation or public distress in the fields or villages of that kingdom. Among the petty Rajpoot states, of which I have seen a good deal during the last ten weeks, our name, I think is popular; and I am sure that our influence has been productive of a vast deal of good on comparing the present state of the country, according to the accounts of the natives themselves, with what it was ten years ago. There is one thing, and one only, which seems to endanger our supremacy, and the good effects which it produces, and that is the opium monopoly. I do not know how far this may be pro-

fitable, (though on this point many of the political agents in these countries express great doubts,) but that it is impolitic seems to be the universal opinion. It has already, they tell me, excited considerable murmuring in the districts round Indore; and it is likely, if persevered in, to lower exceedingly the character of the English government in the minds of the Maharattas and Rajpoots, and, possibly, in the event of another war in Central India, to create a feeling against us, which will cost the company more in six months, than they can gain in twenty years monopoly, even supposing that they really gain by bringing an inferior kind of opium under their seal into the Chinese market, to compete with the more valuable sort which they produce in Bahar and the neighbouring districts. On this and many other grounds, almost all the public servants in Upper and Central India impute great ignorance of what is passing here to the members of government in Calcutta, few of whom, as it happens (if any) have been long in these provinces, and whom they accuse of estimating the Hindoostanee character by the very different one which is found among the Bengalese.

"A pretty loud cry prevails for a separate government (if not a separate governor and council, at least a lieut. governor) who should reside at Agra and administer all the provinces west of Allahabad, as well as the affairs of Central India. They urge that the business which now presses on the different boards at Calcutta is more than can be properly attended to; that the presence of a visible and powerful representative of the British government would have infinitely more effect on these martial tribes than any thing which can be done by separate residents; and that the additional expense might be almost saved by doing away with some of the appointments of commissioners, governor general's agents, &c., which the present system renders necessary. On the whole they use nearly the same arguments which Sir John Malcolm does, except that they wish to include in the separate government, not only Central India, but the greater part of Hindoostan Proper.

"I found the same complaints in the upper provinces as in Bengal, against the hardship of the town and internal duties. At the same time there are really so many excellent uses to which

the money thus raised may be applied, that, now that its application to the works of internal improvement is determined on, I am inclined to retract what I said respecting these duties in my letter from Dacca. New roads, indeed, must every where be a public benefit; but the roads which the local magistrates have, in some places, made, are rather drives for their own carriages in the neighbourhood of cantonments, &c., than any which are of real advantage to the natives or to travellers. Large sums have also been laid out in repairing and beautifying the different temples and tombs of the Hindoos and Mussulmans. Now I have ascertained from various quarters that for this expense nobody thanks us; and though I admire the works of ancient art as much as any body, and though there are, undoubtedly, some few buildings, such as the Jumna Musjeed at Delhi, and the Taj-Mahal at Agra, which it would be a national disgrace to allow to fall, yet I confess I am more anxious for the general repair of roads, the opening or restoration of canals, and, above all, for the repair of the magnificent caravanserais, which are every where falling into ruin, and the preservation of which is among the greatest boons which can be conferred on the nations of Upper India; while, by the addition of one or two rooms suitable for the accommodation of Europeans, and a storehouse where valuable articles might be deposited during the night, they would be a very great convenience to the civil and military servants of the company; and by diminishing the escorts which are now necessary in transporting treasure, public stores, &c. through the country, relieve government from much annual expense, and the sepoys from some of the most harassing duties which are now imposed on them, and those which most directly interfere with the drill and discipline of a regiment, as well as most grievously oppress the common people in the villages.

"On the whole, a want of magistrates, a want of troops, a want of public expenditure, and a desire to augment the revenue, arising from the necessity imposed on the supreme government of sending all the treasure they can scrape together to England, seem to be, at present, the chief dangers of our eastern dominions. There are no great or crying abuses, except those connected with the adawlut; and here and elsewhere, where abuses

exist, I cannot find that they are either favoured by, or are a source of profit to, any servants of government. But it is a system of delay, of weakness, of niggardliness, and of insulation. Every thing is done at the least charge, and to serve the present turn; in every thing the natives are less and less consulted or conciliated; and though the absence of actual oppression is, in these countries, a great positive blessing, I really do not think the company do all they ought to do, or all which is *necessary* for them to do, to preserve their Indian empire."

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Doodeah, March 13, 1825.

"My Dear Sir,

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"I have been obliged to travel by a more circuitous road than would otherwise have been necessary, in consequence of the scarcity of supplies and water. To-morrow morning I hope to reach Barreah, and thence, if my information is right, by Gollah, Mullao, Kunjeree, and Jeroda, to be at Baroda on Saturday morning. I need not say that it will give me very great and sincere pleasure, to meet you as early in the course of this march as you can do with convenience; and I wish I could name with more certainty the stages previous to Kunjeree; but till then I am obliged to steer my course, in some degree, by the information which I pick up on the road, since several stations which Captain Macdonald had marked for me are now unable to furnish water or forage. Where will it be best for us to take up our quarters at Baroda? Will Mr. Williams allow us to join his camp, or is that too far from the city? Where, in short, are you fixed? How should I send my servants and heavy baggage to Surat, supposing me to go dâk myself? I have come thus far with camels and elephants lent me by the commissariat at Neemuch, and with Hindoostanee bearers; but I feel some delicacy about taking on the first any further than is necessary; and nothing but the fear of being devoured by tigers, or killed by Bheels in the jungle, has kept the others with me thus far. I trouble you with these points now that you may turn them in your mind, and suggest some plan when we meet. If there is

time for it, marching is pleasanter than going dâk; and as my camels and escort must return to Neemuch through Mhow, since the road which I have come will be impassable in a few days more, it will, perhaps, be better to make a small detour to take them on with me to Surat. But on all these questions I shall be glad to profit by your advice.

"With regard to the guarantee of the inviolability of the churches consecrated, the plan which I have adopted in your archdeaconry is the same with that which I was advised was sufficient in that of Calcutta; namely, the recital by me, in my letter to government, of the different churches which had been erected, offering to consecrate them if government would undertake to maintain them for the exclusive worship of the Church of England, &c., their assent to which terms was accounted enough to warrant my proceeding. It may, however, be well to write a second letter, after consecration, informing them that, in consequence of their letter, I have consecrated such and such churches, and claim their patronage in their behalf.

"With respect to the consecration of burial-grounds, I have always done it in the archdeaconry of Calcutta, both because Bishop Middleton had done it at Madras, and because the inhabitants of the principal stations expressed a great desire that I should do so. There has, however, been in that archdeaconry, no difficulty of the kind which you mention. The Roman Catholics, where they have priests, have also separate cemeteries; and no instance has occurred that I have heard of, of their obtaining or seeking permission to officiate in any of our churchyards.

"Thank you for your friendly anxiety after my health, and your sympathy in the anxiety which I have suffered. The first, thank God, is good; and the second I am truly grateful to be able to say, is much relieved by one of the letters which has been forwarded to me. You may believe that it *was* very great, when I, even for a moment, entertained a thought of turning back when so far advanced in my career.

"It will, certainly, be proper for me to avail myself of the house which government have so kindly provided; and, for the first night, I shall feel myself no less bound to accept your kindly

offered hospitality, provided always that it will put you to no inconvenience. My only companion is Dr. Smith. * *

"The want under which I have laboured during the greater part of my journey, of secretary, amanuensis, or any other help of the kind, by throwing much detail work on me, has left me far less time than I could desire for many other things, and among the rest must plead my apology for having been so bad and tardy a correspondent.

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Ever your sincere friend,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

When the bishop heard that his wife had embarked to join him at Bombay, with his eldest child, having been obliged to leave the youngest at Calcutta, under the apprehension that the heat they were likely to encounter on the voyage would be prejudicial to her health, he offered up the following prayer for their preservation :—

"*Kairah, Good Friday, March* 31, 1825.—Oh merciful and gracious Lord, Almighty Father, whose way is in the sea, and Thy path in the deep waters, have mercy, I beseech Thee, on my dear wife and child now, under Thy protection, embarked thereon. Protect, support, strengthen, and comfort both of them according to their respective years, dangers, and necessities ; preserve them from the perils of the climate and the seas, from all bodily disease, and all spiritual trials and temptations. Look with an eye of mercy on that dear babe who is left behind, and deprived of the care of both her parents ! Father of the fatherless ! be Thou this orphan's friend ! Preserve her tender years from the sore dangers which beset them. Lengthen her days upon earth, if it be thy blessed will, and if Thou willest her to live to Thy glory and her own salvation. And grant, O Lord, to her, her mother, her sister, and to me Thy most unworthy servant, a safe and happy meeting in this present life ; or, if it otherwise seemeth good to Thee, yet deny us not an everlasting and blessed union in the life to come, through Thy

dear Son Jesus Christ our Saviour, who was pleased at this time to show His love for men in yielding up His life a sacrifice for sin, and hath promised, Oh Father, in Thy behalf, that the prayer of faith shall not be offered up in vain. So fulfill now, Oh Lord, my prayers, as Thou seest most expedient for me and the objects of my solicitude, giving us in this world grace to love and please Thee, and in the world to come, Thine everlasting mercy, through our dear Lord and only Saviour. *Amen!*"

CHAPTER XXVI.

Extracts from Archdeacon Barnes' Journal—The Bishop's arrival at Bombay—Confirmation and Visitation—District Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel formed at Bombay—Letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—The Bishop embarks for Ceylon—Visit to Cotta—District Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel formed in Ceylon—Return to Calcutta. 1825.

The editor is indebted to Dr. Barnes, late archdeacon of Bombay, for permission to insert a few extracts from his manuscript journal, written while he was accompanying the bishop on the latter part of his visitation in the north-west of India, and during his residence in Bombay; they relate to occurrences not noticed by the bishop in his own journal.

"*March* 28, 1825.—Having sent my tent to Jeroda, I went early this morning to meet the bishop, and found him arrived before me. He was sitting in a single-poled tent, surrounded by baggage and followers; he received me most kindly; his voice and countenance were very much what I remember of them at Oxford, and his manner as free and animated as ever." * * * * "I had a long conversation with him during the morning, on subjects connected with the religious state of this part of the diocese; and I was truly happy to find that he much approved of all I had done since Bishop Middleton's death; and that his views and opinions were so much in accordance with my own. It was really a most interesting event, to receive here on the plains of Guzerat, the second bishop of the English Church, and to be planning schemes for the eternal interests of the ignorant and idolatrous people by whom we were surrounded."

"*March* 20. *Baroda.*—The church consecrated here this day was dedicated to the 'Holy Trinity.' The sermon which the bishop preached from Genesis xxviii. 16, 17, was very impressive, and the congregation earnestly requested its publication. It is of some consequence to observe that Baroda is not a military station belonging to the British, but the capital of an independent native prince; and the cantonment is the residence only of the subsidiary British force; it is, therefore, of no little importance to the cause of Christianity, and exhibits the successful improvement now gradually making in the history of the English Church in India, to find a decent place erected in such a neighbourhood, for the due celebration of divine ordinances, and the public exhibition of the Christian faith and worship. The church being without a bell, the bishop gave a design for the erection of a small belfry, which was built the September following."

* * "The bishop frequently expresses himself very desirous of visiting Mhow, in Malwah, where a large military force from Bombay is now stationed, and where a chaplain, the Rev. Morgan Davies, is lately gone to reside. But the distance is considered too great; the season is far advanced, and the hot weather, which has already commenced, will become intolerable even now, before the bishop can finish his tour of Guzerat and reach Bombay."

"*March 26th. Kairah.*—The church was consecrated, and dedicated to 'St. George.' Being a much larger building than that at Baroda, and having been in use for about two years, every thing was in better order, and the ceremony better conducted. The bishop, on each occasion, had a chair placed for himself within the rails, and another for the archdeacon, who acted as chancellor."

* * "The bishop's manner every where is exceedingly popular; and though there are some points, such as his wearing white trowsers and a white hat,* which I could wish

* On his journeys the bishop wore a white "solar" hat, with a very broad brim, (lined with green silk,) made from the pith of the bamboo. As it was remarkably light, and afforded more protection from glare and heat, he preferred it to the episcopal hat, his usual dress when residing at any of the presidencies. The white

were altered with more regard to his station, and which, perhaps, strike me the more after being accustomed to the particular attention of Bishop Middleton in such points, yet really I feel compelled to forgive him, when I observe his unreserved frankness, his anxious and serious wish to do all the good in his power, his truly amiable and kindly feelings, his talents and piety, and his extraordinary powers of conversation, accompanied with so much cheerfulness and vivacity. I see the advantage which Christianity and our Church must possess in such a character, to win their way and keep altogether in India." * * * "This being Passion week, the bishop is desirous of having prayers in the church as often as is convenient. The weather being intensely hot, it is impossible to collect the soldiers in the morning, and it is therefore determined to have divine service on Wednesday after sunset, when there is to be a confirmation, and on Saturday, when the burial ground will be consecrated. The bishop, besides preaching on Sunday, will preach on Good Friday, and in the morning on Easter day." " * * * After the confirmation on Wednesday, the bishop delivered a most impressive address to the persons confirmed, who consisted, for the most part, of young men from the 4th dragoons: they had been instructed by Mr. Goode, and were remarkably well behaved and attentive." * * * "Most of the young persons confirmed attended the sacrament on Easter Day, and added not merely to the number of the communicants, but to the deep interest of the scene." * * "On Saturday, after the form of consecrating the burial-ground was finished, the bishop addressed the officers and soldiers present in a short extempore speech, calculated to awaken and impress serious religious feeling. He alluded, in a forcible manner, to the suddenness and rapidity with which Europeans were cut off in this climate, and drew some striking reflections from

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trowsers he adopted soon after his arrival in India, from their greater coolness; and he recommended them to his clergy on all ordinary occasions. He considered himself justified in dispensing with a form of dress, which, though very commendable in England, was of little importance, and, indeed, hurtful, in a climate, where health and comfort depend so much on avoiding every thing that can increase its pernicious effects.—Ed.

officers and privates being here consigned to the same common dust, side by side. It is impossible but that such an address from such a person, and under the peculiar circumstances of the station,* would have its due effect and be long remembered. The bishop would have gone from hence to Ahmedabad, but he was much pressed for time; otherwise I think the beautiful ruins near that city would have fully repaid him for his trouble.

"*April* 10.—The bishop was much grieved at the delay in passing the Mhye, which obliged him to enter Broach on Sunday morning; we arrived, however, before six o'clock, and all our followers were quietly settled long before breakfast time."

* * "The bishop preached and administered the sacrament in the room which has been for some time set apart and fitted up as a chapel; the congregation consisted of all the English within reach. He expressed himself much pleased at finding that in every station he came to in this archdeaconry, such good provision was made for the decent celebration of divine service; and he approved of the regulation which I had introduced, with the sanction of government, of chaplains visiting, once a month, stations which they can reach without inconvenience. Broach is forty miles from Surat, and the chaplain is allowed two hundred rupees for his journey."

"At Surat the bishop was lodged with Mr. Romer, whose long residence in Guzerat, and intimate acquaintance with the language and customs of the natives, enabled him to give the bishop full and accurate information respecting this part of the country.† The church is called 'Christ Church,' at the particular desire of Mr. Carr, of whose useful labours here, and unwearied Christian zeal he had good testimony. The bishop preached at the consecration, and administered the sacrament. This church was begun about six years ago, and is the first built by the Bombay government, at any of the out stations." * * * "In the consecration of these churches and burying

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* The greater part of Guzerat is extremely unhealthy during a great portion of the year.—Ed.

† At all the stations in the Bombay presidency, the bishop was received with a military salute, and directions were given by government to afford him every assistance.—Ed.

grounds, no regular deed of gift has been made by government; but the bishop has been satisfied with what is as much as circumstances seem to permit, namely, an assurance on the part of the company, that the buildings shall be maintained and reserved for divine service according to the Church of England, as long as the country remains in their possession, and that they will also provide a clergyman for them. There is likewise an arrangement effected for all the churches in this archdeaconry, which the bishop much approved of, by which the chaplain, and the senior military officer of the station, are appointed joint trustees for the guardianship of the building, and the due supply of plate, books, and ornaments necessary for the celebration of divine service."

"*April 20th.*—We came yesterday to an anchor in Bombay harbour, but it being very late, we did not land until this morning. It was intended that the clergy and the principal staff officers should meet the bishop on his landing; but we were too early for them, and were on shore before they arrived. Government had prepared a very neat bungalow for the bishop's reception on the esplanade and near the sea, where he much enjoyed the fresh sea breezes after the heat of his long and tedious journey. It is now above ten months since he left Calcutta, and during that time he has visited nearly every station of importance in the upper provinces of Bengal, and north of Bombay. He has made a more laborious, harassing, and fatiguing journey than is often done by any civil or military person, certainly than has fallen to the usual lot of a Christian bishop." * *

"I prolonged my stay in India for the purpose of meeting Bishop Heber, and it will be always among the most gratifying recollections of my life that I did so.

"When the bishop reached Bombay, he was undetermined as to his future course in the visitation. He was very desirous, if possible, of visiting the central parts of Hindoostan, and consulted us as to the practicability of returning to Calcutta by Nagpoor; but he was dissuaded from this plan by the very great length of the journey, and the few stations of importance through which his road lay. He then proposed to go from Poonah to Hyderabad, and Bangaloor, and thence to visit the

southern provinces, the Syrian Christians, and the missionary establishment in Travancore, and to return to Calcutta by Madras. This would have been a very desirable and practicable plan; but he was unfortunately delayed in Bombay longer than he had expected; and he found his presence in Calcutta so much needed, that he at length determined to go by sea to Ceylon, and thence continue his voyage up the bay of Bengal, leaving Madras and the south for another tour."*

A few days after the bishop landed at Bombay, he was joined by his family, after a separation of near eleven months, the whole of which he had spent in his visitation, seldom sleeping out of his cabin or tent. The extreme heat during the latter part of his journey (the unfortunate detention at Dacca having thrown it so late into the hot season) had affected him more than all the previous difficulties of his long and fatiguing visitation; in a letter to the editor he said, "you will find me a good deal aged; the march from Neemuch, and the 'iron clime' of Guzerat, have done me more wrong than all my previous wanderings." He had never, indeed, been ill since a fever which attacked him at Delhi; but he looked harassed and worn, and was grown much thinner. His mind, however, which had long been suffering from anxiety about those most dear to him, was now restored to comparative peace; and quiet, aided by the pure air of the island, soon restored his usual health and strength.

"*April 25th.*—The bishop held a confirmation at St. Thomas's church, when about a hundred and twenty persons were confirmed; a considerable number in India, when we recollect that the children of nearly all the company's civil and military servants are sent to England at an early age; and that in Bombay a very great proportion of the lower half castes, are bred up in the Romish Church. After the confirmation, the bishop, as was his usual custom, addressed the candidates from the rails of the communion table. His charge was well adapted for the occasion; was impressively delivered; and appeared to have its due effect on all."*

* Dr. Barnes's MS. Journal.

April 28th.—The bishop held his visitation, and, at his request, the sermon was preached by the archdeacon. Dr. Barnes had come out to India, as archdeacon of Bombay, with Bishop Middleton, in 1814; Drs. Loring and Mousley, the first archdeacons of Calcutta and Madras, were appointed at the same time; but Dr. Barnes was the only one who, by the vigour of his constitution, or the superior salubrity of his station, had reached the prescribed term of residence in India. He was now about to sail for England, accompanied by the regrets and good wishes of his brother clergy, and of the inhabitants of the presidency, both native and European, among whom he had lived for eleven years, with the consciousness of having laboured unremittingly and successfully in the service of his Maker.*

"In the evening the clergy all dined with the bishop in his bungalow. He delighted us all with his cheerful conversation; but to me the party became peculiarly interesting, and its occurrences were most deeply impressed on my mind. The bishop took occasion to speak in very forcible terms of the promising state of the church in this archdeaconry. He was gratified in finding five churches to consecrate, all built since Bishop Middleton's last visitation in 1821; and though the buildings at Matoongha and Colabah were not such as he could consecrate in their present temporary state, yet it was enough to have procured such erections, in every way decently fitted for divine service. In many other respects he commended what he had seen; he expressed himself in flattering terms of several of the clergy in the archdeaconry, whose useful and unwearied labours he had himself witnessed; he particularly praised their regular attention to their duties, amidst the many discouragements of the climate and the country; he thanked them for their kindness and courtesy to himself; and in speaking of the progress of Christianity in India, he took occasion to notice the present

* At the bishop's desire Dr. Barnes printed his sermon. A short time before his departure, the clergy of the archdeaconry gave him a piece of plate in token of their regard, and the British inhabitants requested him to send out his portrait, to be placed in one of those schools which owed so much to his care. A subscription for this purpose was entered into, and the interest of the surplus was appointed to provide annual medals for the best scholars, to be inscribed "Dr. Barnes's medals."

state of Bishop's Mission College, and to state his intention of soon forming a committee of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, to which he requested their support."*

To Charles Lushington, Esq.

Bombay, May 4, 1825.

"My Dear Sir,

"I take this opportunity of saying how great pleasure I have, within the last few days, received from your very interesting as well as very useful book on the Anglo-Indian charities. It has, I fairly confess, surprised me, not only as being a larger and handsomer volume than I expected to see, but because I did not at all anticipate that such a work could be made so interesting to the general reader, and because, knowing how much you have to do, and how closely you apply, I really have felt puzzled how you could have found health or spirits to indent so largely on your few leisure hours, as must have been required, both by the collection and arrangement of your materials, and the task of literary composition. You will say that I come late in the day with my congratulations and eulogies; but what can you expect from a man so recently emerged from the jungles? And in truth, I had not obtained a sight of the volume till my wife brought it me from Calcutta. I have now read it through with attention, and can assure you with perfect truth, (so far as my opinion is worth any thing,) that it does infinite credit both to your head and heart; and that I conceive it extremely well suited both to forward the interests of humanity in India, and, in Europe, to do that justice to the European inhabitants of these vast dominions, which our countrymen at home are so little disposed to render us.

"The lithographic engravings are very pretty, and the manner in which the whole book is got up is creditable to a colonial press, though not quite so smart as if it had issued, which I am inclined to wish it had, from Mr. Murray's laboratory.

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* Dr. Barnes's MS. Journal.

"I have been much pleased and interested, since my arrival here, with Mr. Elphinstone, with whom it is impossible to converse without being struck with his talents, and remarkable extent of information. I am anxious, however, to get back as soon as possible to Calcutta, which, though it falls short of Bombay in beauty of situation and sea breeze, is, probably, take it all in all, by far the most agreeable place in India for a continued residence. I have, however, so much to do at Ceylon, that I cannot, without neglecting my duty, omit passing some short time there; and I have also a journey to Poonah before me.

"Believe me, dear Sir,
"Ever your's truly,
"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

At a meeting of the District Committee of the society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which was held soon after his arrival, the bishop, after taking a general view of the society's measures, congratulated its members on the favourable report made by the committee, and expressed his approbation of every part of their proceedings. In the present state of the Christian population in India, he said there was a great demand for the society's English books in the soldiers' schools, barracks, and hospitals; as well as among the seamen of the vessels frequenting the ports; but, without the assistance of the district committee, it was not easy to see how these books could be readily procured. He earnestly exhorted the clergy, therefore, to avail themselves to the utmost of their power of the valuable assistance afforded by this committee, who, by their liberal supplies at every station where a chaplain was resident, enabled him to administer far more effectually to the spiritual necessities of his countrymen. The bishop then mentioned with great approbation the lending libraries which the society had formed, as well as the military libraries established by the Bombay government at different out stations, under the management of the chaplains.* On his journey through that presidency, he had

* Military libraries are now established by the company at every station in the three presidencies.

himself seen the great advantage of these institutions, under the peculiar circumstances in which soldiers are placed in India. Between the five o'clock morning, and the evening parade, they had many unemployed hours, for which books afforded them an invaluable occupation, so as to prevent their falling into the degrading vices unhappily but too common among the lower classes of Europeans.* The military library at each station which he visited contained, besides an entire set of the society's publications, upwards of a hundred and thirty volumes, comprising the works of many of the best English authors in history, travels, biography, poetry, and the elements of science.

To Mrs. Dashwood.

Bombay, May 11, 1825.

" * * There have been indeed very many occasions in the course of my long journey, when your society would have been most agreeable and comfortable; and there are many objects offered by India, (some of them Emily and I have, since our re-union seen together,) which would have interested you, and given very full scope to your pencil. Were the climate better, this would, indeed, be a most agreeable place of banishment, a visit to which, for a short period, would well repay the privations and monotony of a double voyage. The climate, (though I believe that I bear it as well as most people of my acquaintance, and though I do not think that its general effect on the health either of me or mine has been unfriendly,) is certainly, however, a grievous drawback, inasmuch, as even during the coolest season of the year, there are many hours in every day, during which, without necessity, no one can expose himself to the sun. A still closer imprisonment is forced on us by the rainy season; and the extreme heat of part of March, April, May, June, August, September, and the early part of October, far exceeds, both in actual annoyance, and the langour which it induces, every thing which I had been taught to expect in a tropical country.

* It is worthy of remark that the demand for school-books published by the Bombay Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, advanced, in three years, from 1467 to 3355 volumes.

"The climate and air of Calcutta are, I think, the worst I have yet met with, having the heat untempered by sea breezes; the rainy season aggravated by the marshy character of the surrounding country, and the enormous rivers which intersect Bengal in every direction; and the remaining five months of cool weather invaded by thick fogs, as dense as I ever saw at the same season in London. Calcutta has, however, the advantage of a smaller share of hot winds than the upper provinces; and from the size and loftiness of the houses, the judicious methods adopted for excluding the outward air, and keeping the rooms at a moderate temperature, (we think it moderate when the thermometer does not exceed 85°,) and other little comforts and precautions which elsewhere are neglected, or unattainable, it is found that, on the whole, the probabilities of life and health are greater there than in many regions of India which seem more favourable by nature.

"Of the upper provinces, Bahar, Oude, the Dooab, Rohilcund, and Rajpootana, I was, myself, disposed to form a very favourable judgment. The weather during the five months of which I have spoken, is there not only agreeable, but sometimes actually cold. The rains are moderate; and there is an elasticity in the air; a deep, bright, matchless blueness in the sky; a golden light which clothes even the most common objects with beauty and riches, and a breeze so cool, calm, and bracing, as to render the country singularly propitious to every work of art, and every natural feature of the scenery, and more exhilirating than can be expressed to a person coming, as I then was, from the close heats and dripping thickets of Bengal during the rains. This difference, indeed, is felt by every living thing. The animals of Upper India are all larger and of better quality than those of Bengal. The natives are a taller, handsomer, and more manly race. And Europeans, who all, when in Calcutta, look like kid-skin gloves, and seem as if they had been boiled, recover here their natural complexion and firmness of flesh and muscle, as if they had returned to their own country. Even here, however, the sun, during the greater part of the day, is too fierce to be confronted with impunity; and the annual prevalence and fury of the hot winds, which blow

during March, April, May, and a part of June, for eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, like the stream of air from a great blast-furnace, is regarded as a plague, which more than counterbalances the superiority of these provinces in other respects, and are no less destructive both to comfort and health than any thing to be endured in Calcutta. Still, if I had the power of choice, it is here that I would pitch my tent, in the neighbourhood of Meerut, the most considerable of our northern stations; and with the power of migrating every year during the hot winds to the lofty valleys of the Dhoon, about one hundred and fifty miles off, where the breath of the furnace is said to be little felt, and where the view of the Himalaya, with its eternal snows, is of itself enough to communicate a comparative coolness. A yet finer and more bracing climate is, indeed, attainable at a much smaller distance, by climbing the wild and majestic ridges of Kemaoon, and approaching the monarch of mountains, Nundi-Devi, in the more direct line of Almorah, by which I myself went up to his neighbourhood. But this is a route only practicable during a few months in the year, being cut off from the plain by a belt of marshy forest, the most unwholesome in the known world, and, during the hot and rainy seasons, deserted even by the wild animals. Meerut, therefore, and the Dhoon, may be regarded as the most agreeable parts of India.

"Malwah, and the Deckan, being on high levels supported by mountains, are both described as temperate, and, during the greater part of the year, comparatively pleasant. But for some reason which has not been satisfactorily explained to me, there are no parts of India where fevers are so common, so frequently fatal, and (even when not mortal in the first instance) attended with so lasting ill effects on the constitution. As to the hot low countries of Guzerat and the northern Concan, they are, though beautiful in point of scenery, mere charnel-houses to the majority of Europeans, where nobody *can* long reside without repenting it, and where I was moved with a very painful sorrow on seeing the colourless cheeks, shrunk figures, and pale, thin, white hands of the poor English soldiers, who, a few months before, had brought to this inhospitable shore as broad shoulders, and as ruddy countenances as ever followed a plough in Shropshire.

"Of Bombay, from my own experience, I should judge favourably. Its climate appears, in productions, in temperature, and other respects, pretty closely to resemble the West India Islands; its heat, like theirs, tempered by the sea breeze, and more fortunate far than they are in the absence of yellow fever. But I know not why, except it may be from the excessive price of all the comforts of life on this side of India, the provisions made against heat are so much less than those in Calcutta, that we feel it quite as much here as there; and the European inhabitants do not seem either more florid, or at all more healthy than in Calcutta. On the whole, I am inclined to think that, since I cannot live at Meerut, Calcutta is the best place in which my lot could be thrown, (as it is certainly the place in which the most extensive and interesting society is usually to be met with) and both my wife and myself look forwards to returning thither with an anxiety which you will easily believe, when you know that she was obliged to leave her little Harriet there.

"Inferior, however, as Bombay is to Calcutta in many respects, in some, besides climate, it has very decidedly the advantage. With me, the neighbourhood of the sea is one of these points; nor is there any sea in the world more beautifully blue, bordered by more woody and picturesque mountains, and peopled with more picturesque boats and fishermen, than this part of the Indian Ocean. I know and fully participate in your fondness for latteen sails. They are here in full perfection; nor do they ever look better than when seen gliding under high basaltic cliffs, their broad white triangles contrasted with the dark features of the cocoa palm, or when furled and handled by their wild Mediterranean-looking mariners, with red caps, naked limbs, and drawers of striped cotton. All these features are peculiar to the Malabaric or western coast of India, and are a few out of many symptoms which have struck me very forcibly, of our comparative approach to the European Levant, and the closer intercourse which is kept up here with Arabia, Egypt, and Persia. In Calcutta we hear little of these countries: in Bombay they are constant topics of conversation. It is no exaggeration to say that a very considerable proportion of the civil and military

officers here, have visited either the Nile or the Euphrates; arrivals from Yemen, Abyssinia, or the Persian Gulf, occupy a good part of our usual morning's discussion. The sea shore is lined every morning and evening by the Parsee worshippers of the sun; Arab and Abyssinian seamen throng the streets; and I met the day before yesterday, at breakfast with the governor, an Arab *post captain;* or at least, if this title is refused him, the commander of a frigate in the navy of the imân of Muscat. He is a smart little man, a dandy in his way, speaks good English, and is reckoned an extremely good seaman.

"The society of Bombay is, of course, made up of the same elements with that of Calcutta, from which it only differs in being less numerous. The governor, Mr. Elphinstone, is the cleverest and most agreeable man whom I have yet met with in India, and the public man of all others who seems to have the happiness and improvement of the Indians most closely and continually at heart. He reminds me very often of the duke of Richlieu, when governor of Odessa, but has more business-like talents than he had. * * His popularity is also very remarkable. I have found scarcely any person who does not speak well of him. Emily and I have reason to do so, for we are his guests, and the more we see of him we like him the better.

"Lord Amherst, with whom I have kept up a pretty constant interchange of letters, is, I hope, growing more popular in Calcutta, by the success which has lately crowned his measures. In all which has passed, he has, in my opinion, been exceedingly misrepresented and ill used; having really attended all along most sedulously to public business, and having begun the war by the advice of those who were supposed best acquainted with India. Peace is now pretty confidently expected; and it seems peculiarly fortunate that our eastern frontier is thus to be placed in tranquillity at the present time, since there is every symptom that the west will, ere long, be more or less in a blaze. The thunders were beginning to roll when I myself passed that way. At present a hollow truce has been arranged, but which nobody expects to last long; and it seems probable that, next cold weather, our new commander in chief will have to do the

same thing in Rajpootana, which Sir Archibald Campbell is now doing in Ava. Such is the unhappy tenure of a government founded by conquest, and too extensive to be governed or defended by any thing but an army always in the field.

"It is as yet in some degree uncertain how long we shall be detained here. Next week we think of undertaking a three weeks' excursion into the Maharatta country as far as Poonah, where I have a church to consecrate, and other ecclesiastical matters to attend to. About the middle of July, if I am able in the mean time to despatch some other and very vexatious concerns which occupy me here, we hope to embark for Ceylon, and to reach Calcutta in September. Even there, alas! I can hope for a very short repose, since at Christmas it is my design to be at Madras, and to employ the early part of next year, till June, in going through the principal stations of that presidency.

"* * * God bless you, and be assured of the love and the daily prayers of,

"Dearest Anna,

"Sincerely your affectionate brother,

"Reginald Calcutta."

On the 22d of May, the bishop preached in St. Thomas's Church on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and on the following morning its friends, including the governor, the judges, and the members of council, assembled to form a district committee for promoting the establishment and support of the society's schools and missions within that archdeaconry. In consideration of the unfinished state of Bishop's College, and of the many expenses incidental to a new establishment, it was determined to remit to it the whole of the sums now collected, together with the amount of the first year's subscription. The great number of charitable institutions which required assistance in Calcutta, had induced the bishop to defer making any appeal to its inhabitants on behalf of this society, until his return from his visitation. His minute investigation of the necessities of the college, had, however, enabled him to mature a plan for their relief, originally proposed by the archdea-

con of Bombay; and when Dr. Barnes met him at Jeroda, the bishop had the pleasure of learning that his views met with the entire concurrence of all the chief authorities of Bombay. The subscriptions and donations at this meeting, to which were subsequently added considerable sums from the out stations, amounted to nearly eighteen hundred pounds, at the favourable rate of exchange at which it was remitted to the college by government. This was a vast sum to raise from the smallest and poorest of the sister presidencies; and the editor has heartfelt pleasure in recording this, among many instances of that good and generous spirit which has so nobly supported all religious institutions, and answered every demand upon its charity.

To the Reverend Anthony Hamilton, Secretary to the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts.

Bombay, May 1825.

"Reverend and Dear Sir,

* * * * * * *

"It is greatly to be desired that any labourers whom the society may send out to us (and for many such we have full employment) should be young men unmarried, or at least, unincumbered with families. Of a numerous family in this country the burden and the cares are great indeed; unfriendly as is the climate to human life at every age, there are no periods so much exposed to its ravages as extreme youth and infancy. The children who survive these earliest trials must, at six or seven years old, if possible, be sent to England, both to retrieve their constitutions and to obtain (what here cannot be obtained) education; and the prospect of this approaching separation (*haud inexpertus loquor*) is among the most melancholy contemplations which we have to encounter here, even where there is not (as there must generally be in the case of a missionary) a deficiency of means to meet the expense which it implies.

"But to men whose minds are free from these anxieties, the life of a missionary in India offers not only a most extensive field of usefulness, but many circumstances calculated to compensate for, or to cheer the oppressive climate, the removal from

home, and the daily and monotonous labour for which, in the conduct of a circle of Hindoo schools, he must prepare himself. By the judicous and considerate arrangements of the society, and by the establishment of Bishop's College, his introduction to the natives of India will be gradual, and his intercourse with them more easy. In every station to which he is likely to be appointed, he will find a small but well educated European society, to whom, during a part of every Sunday, his ministry will be essentially useful and acceptable; and from whom, if he is a well conducted and well mannered man, he may count on that degree of respect and kindness which in India, of all countries, is necessary to the happiness of a clergyman.

"From no fewer than six stations of this description within the presidency of Fort William alone, I have received pressing applications to assign them a resident missionary; and in each I have been assured that every facility and encouragement would be given to the exercise of his ministry, both among the natives and his own countrymen. With such advantages as these, and overstocked as all the learned professions are in England, I cannot but hope that many young men may be found at St. Bees's, St. David's, or the universities, not only desirous but well qualified, both in zeal, attainments and discretion, to take part in this holy work. But I earnestly recommend that whoever comes out, may, if possible, have attended a course of Dr. Gilchrist's lectures in Hindoostance; and, at all events, be provided with a complete set of his elementary works for the study of that language; without this previous knowledge, very much time must be wasted in India, which might be better and more cheaply spent in England; and with this, his progress in whatever other dialect may be necessary will be a matter of less difficulty.

"I am happy in being able to say that the principal reports favourably of the labours and conduct of Messrs. Tweddell and Morton; and that, not only from him, but from other sources, I have received a very gratifying account of the estimation in which our excellent missionary Mr. Christian is held at Boglipoor, and the encouraging prospects which already cheer his mission. Boglipoor and the neigbouring mountains I cannot but regard as the nucleus of future possible good on a more ex-

tended scale than any other district in India.' I am thankful to God that it has been first occupied by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, instead of some one of the many sects whose doctrines are so assiduously offered to the people of this country; and I am also thankful that I have been enabled to place a young man in that situation, who conciliates esteem wherever he goes, and who, in zeal, temper, patience, orthodoxy, and discretion, no less than in unaffected piety, is so admirably adapted for the service to which he has devoted himself; and I look forward with much anxiety to the moment when I may be able to supply him with a catechist from Bishop's College, both to assist his own labours, and to be trained under his example, to undertake in due time the labours of an ordained missionary among some other tribes of the same people, for whose advantage Mr. Christian is labouring.

"The translation of the Old Testament into Persian by the Reverend Mr. Robinson, chaplain of Poonah, is in progress. A specimen of the work, the history of Joseph, has been just published from the college press; and I am happy to find that some of the best Persian scholars in this part of India, speak in the highest terms of the ability, clearness, and classical propriety of style by which it is distinguished. The printing also is such as to do much credit to our infant institution. With regard to the learned translator, I have to state to the society, that I have applied to government to permit him to reside in Bengal, in consequence of my having named him my domestic chaplain; and I trust that I am not taking too great a liberty in earnestly recommending him to the society, as a person admirably qualified to fill the situation of professor at Bishop's College, if either of the professorships should yet be vacant. It is an object both to Mr. Robinson and to the cause in which he is labouring, that he should be in a situation to correct his own proof sheets, and to receive every aid which either books, or conference with other learned men can supply. The situation of professor is perfectly compatible with all the duties which he will have to perform, either as my chaplain or as one of those on the East India Company's establishment; and it would be hardly possible to find an individual, in all respects, better suited for that situation than

Mr. Robinson. From the time of his arrival in India he was much noticed and highly esteemed by Bishop Middleton, both on account of his general character, and his classical and theological attainments. His reputation is established in this country as an eminent oriental scholar; and though my own acquaintance with him is of a very few weeks, every thing which I have seen has confirmed the favourable impression which I had received of him from several valued friends in England, from Archdeacon Barnes, and from the principal; the last of whom has also expressed his earnest wish to have him for a fellow labourer. Under such circumstances, I heartily hope that I may not be too late in an application, which, if successful, will take from my mind a load of anxiety, which has often oppressed it, while anticipating the possible difficulties of Bishop's College, if deprived of Mr. Mill's superintendence.

"On the final settlement of the statutes, I know not that I can add any thing to the long letter which I addressed to you last rains. Nothing has since happened to alter my opinion that no probable inconvenience can arise, and that many probable inconveniences may be avoided by leaving a discretionary power in the principal, with the approbation of the visiter, to admit other students besides those who are willing, expressly and in the first instance, to devote themselves to missionary labours. But as my meaning appears to have been misunderstood, I must add, in explanation, that not only the youths to be admitted, but the studies to be pursued, would, of course, be regulated by the principal and visiter, in conformity with the objects of our institution, and the practice of other universities. And I am still of opinion, that so long as only the liberal sciences, and the dead and eastern languages are taught there, the candidates for admission from among the country born will be very few, but those the elite of their class, and such as the dissenting seminaries will most gladly take if we reject them.

"I am now, with good hopes of success, engaged in promoting the establishment, throughout this diocese, of district committees, in aid of Bishop's College, and of the society's missions in India. This plan (first suggested to me several months ago by my valued friend Archdeacon Barnes, but which, from the

circumstances under which I was placed, I could not adopt before my arrival in this presidency) has now, I rejoice to say, been carried into effect for the archdeaconry of Bombay, under auspices the most favourable, and with a degree of success which, under the Divine blessing, I must ascribe to the admirable manner in which the public mind had been previously prepared to receive the measure by the public exhortations, and the private and personal influence and popularity of the archdeacon. A sermon preached on Whit Sunday, in St. Thomas's Church, was succeeded the following day by a meeting of the friends of our society, attended by the governor, the honourable Mr. Elphinstone; the chief, and two puisne justices; the commander-in-chief; and almost all the members of government; together with all the clergy of the island, and a majority of the principal civil, naval, and military officers now within the limits of the presidency. The resolutions entered into, together with the rules of the committee, drawn up by Archdeacon Barnes, will be sent down as soon as possible to you, to be laid before the parent society. At present, I am happy to add, that the benefactions already announced amount to seven thousand Bombay rupees, and the annual subscriptions to one thousand five hundred. An example has thus been set to Ceylon, Madras, and Calcutta, which is of the greater value from Mr. Elphinstone's high reputation for talent, and pre-eminent knowledge of the natives of India, their feelings and interests. The sums now collected are destined, as I have already observed, to the completion of the buildings of Bishop's College.

"It is mortifying, however, to find that this will go but a little way to see the college through its difficulties. It has now been found, on a full and fair trial, that the indispensable expenditure of the college, without including the charges of building, of medical attendance, or the expenses of the mission at Boglipoor, is about eleven hundred and eighty sicca rupees per month, or 1,416*l.* per annum. To meet this great expenditure we have no resources but the interest of the sum in the treasury of Bengal, amounting to 300*l.* and the allowance of 50*l.* yearly made to each of their students by the Incorporated Society, that for promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Church Missionary So-

ciety,—amounting for the past year, to 200*l.* more The splendid present of 1000*l.* which we last year received from the Church Missionary Society, has enabled the principal to get through thus far without contracting debt. But not only are we without any positive assurance that this grant will, in future years, be continued to us, but there is every probability that, if it is continued, we shall be directed to apply it to the foundation of scholarships, rather than to the general purposes and incidental expenses of the establishment. And though I am encouraged to hope, by the splendid example set in Bombay, that the amount of subscriptions which may be raised in the different provinces of India, will not fall short of five thousand sicca rupees, or 500*l.* a year, yet I am too well acquainted with the fluctuating nature of Indian society, with the rival claims which are continually arising on the benevolence of the Indian public, and with the fact that *all* the religious and charitable funds maintained by subscription in India, whether among the members of our own church or dissenters, are actually in debt and difficulty, to rely with any degree of confidence on popular support as a stable and permanent source of income, even if it were not certain that, of the subscriptions hereafter to be raised or continued in the different presidencies, the greater part will naturally be expended, not on the support of Bishop's College, but on schools, missions, houses, and other *local* claims connected with the general objects of the society. It is but too certain, therefore, that we must look forwards to a very great and alarming discrepancy between our means and expenditure; that in this respect, as well as in the building, my distinguished predecessor had been misled by very erroneous and over sanguine calculations; and that we can only hope to escape actual bankruptcy, either by further and still more liberal supplies from Europe, or by such a curtailment of the comforts, the decencies, and (I may almost say) the necessaries of a collegiate establishment, as must exceedingly affect, not only the respectability and usefulness of your institution, but probably, in this climate, the health of its inmates.

"Meantime the buildings themselves are any thing but completed. The grounds, which I find I was premature in suppos-

ing already drained, are yet in a state to require very considerable expense to make them either creditable or comfortable. The printing house is not begun, nor, with our present means, are we justified in beginning it. The inside finishing of the chapel (though the four thousand sicca rupees left for that purpose by Bishop Middleton are expended) is hardly commenced at all; and though I hope and believe that Mr. Hawtayne's estimate, in his subjoined letter, of the money yet wanting to put the buildings and grounds in good order is exaggerated, yet I have but too good reason to fear, that to complete our undertaking will much exceed any funds which we now possess, or are likely to raise in this country. I have long, indeed, been made painfully sensible, that had Bishop Middleton's valuable life been spared, he would have found himself involved in difficulties and disappointments which he was far from anticipating; and that had he not been exceedingly deceived, in the first instance, by the persons whom he consulted, he would have adopted for his college a less expensive style of architecture, and a site less remote from Calcutta; but I really am not aware how, in justice to the inmates of his establishment, the principal could have arranged their monthly expenses on a lower scale, or have paid more anxious attention to the resources and interests of the college than, amid all his other avocations, he has uniformly done. But whether the original plan might not have been on a cheaper scale, is not now the point in question. That plan *has* been adopted; and, in consequence, the society have now a spacious and highly elegant, though unfinished, building; and an establishment, to abandon, or materially to reduce which, would be of the most injurious effect to the interests, not only of the Church of England, but of Christianity itself, in India. Under these circumstances I trust I am not presumptuous or unreasonable in earnestly recommending Bishop's College to a continuance of the same fostering care which originally raised it; entreating of the society to believe that, much as we must miss, in these difficulties, the energetic mind and matchless activity of my excellent predecessor, yet will nothing be wanting, on the part of the principal or myself, of what either economy, attention, or zeal can effect, to preserve the society's college from a premature and disastrous termination.

"With reference to Mr. Hawtayne's offer to become honorary bursar of the college (an offer backed by the wishes of the principal) I have accepted, with thanks, his services for the control and regulation of the college expenses, and for the completion of any works which are now in a state of progress, and any repairs which are necessary to the security or salubrity of the building. I have desired him also to obtain estimates and working drawings, both of the printing-house and the stalls, and other furniture of the chapel in the manner in which he proposes its completion. But I have not thought myself justified in authorizing him to begin any thing till my own return to Calcutta, and till I am better able to judge, both as to the taste and expediency of the ornaments which he recommends, and our means of encountering the expense (apparently no trifling one) which he anticipates. Meantime his offer is gratifying to me, less from any idea that he can effect more, either in point of economy or architectural taste than Mr. Mill has done, than from my knowledge that this latter gentleman has really had a greater burthen to bear than it is either just or expedient to lay on any one, however zealous and uncomplaining.

"The time of my own return to Calcutta is not yet absolutely certain. I have still little less than half the diocese before me, in many parts of which my presence is greatly wanted. On a balance of inconveniences, however, my present purpose is to leave this place by sea, as soon as the strength of the monsoon is over, having, in the interim, visited Poonah; to remain some weeks in Ceylon by the way, and return to Calcutta in the month of September, reserving Madras till the following Christmas. This arrangement will give me an earlier opportunity than I could otherwise hope for, of attending on the spot to the interests of Bishop's College; and the thorough visitation of the archdeaconry of Madras alone will occupy many months.

"I remain, Reverend and dear Sir,

"Your faithful and obedient servant,

"Reginald Calcutta."

To J. Phillimore, Esq. LL. D.

Bombay, June 18, 1825.

"DEAR PHILLIMORE,

"Pray accept my thanks for your friendly letter, and the trouble which you have taken about the letters patent. The former, dated January 7th, has just reached me; the latter are not yet arrived, but I have received the papers from the colonial office relative to the new archdeaconry of New South Wales, which seems to be arranged on a very liberal scale, and, at the same time, with much good judgment. The recognition of my episcopal jurisdiction in this case, might, in itself, almost justify me in writing to the chaplain at the Mauritius; but, of course, it is best to wait till I can send him an extract from the patent itself. When speaking of this patent, I am glad to take the opportunity of mentioning that there is one clergyman in this quarter of the globe, of my relations with whom I am far from clear. I mean the chaplain of the English factory at Canton, which is, undoubtedly within the company's charter, but as undoubtedly I conceive not *yet* within the limits of the British territory. There is, however, or was not long since, a clergyman of the Church of England there, who is commonly reputed in India to belong to this see; and though it is not very likely that I shall ever have to exercise any episcopal functions towards him or his flock, yet as it is probable the application would be made to me in case of any dispute arising between them, I should be glad to know whether he is in my jurisdiction or no, and shall be very much obliged if, at your leisure, you will give me some information on the subject.

"Since I last wrote, I have seen, as you will observe by the date of this letter, a very large and interesting tract of country, and two or three of the most remarkable of the nations among whom India is divided. I hope I have learnt something, and, notwithstanding some very intense heat, my journey was, on the whole, a prosperous and pleasant one. I passed Bhurtpoor just before the death of the late rajah and the troubles by which that event was followed; and which have since (together with

the measure of Sir David Ochterlony, and his quarrel with the supreme government) diverted a great deal of the public attention from Sir A. Campbell and his advances towards Ummerapoora. The propriety of the conduct of government must, of course, depend, in a great measure, on the nature of the engagements subsisting between them and the government of Bhurtpoor; and on these grounds it seems generally believed by public men that they were not only warranted but obliged to act as they have done. But all seem to consider it as very unfortunate that a demonstration of hostility having once been made against Bhurtpoor, our army has been brought forward in vain, since the people of that country and of all Central India will ascribe our forbearance to nothing but fear, and be encouraged the more, which they did not need, to look on the Jats as invincible. Sir David Ochterlony's resignation, too, is spoken of with great concern, both out of pity for the old veteran who has outlived all his European friends, and having never saved a shilling, must go to England as to a strange land, and to live in poverty; and because there has really been no man, except Malcolm, who has been so well able to manage the wild and warlike tribes of Malwah and Rajpootana. They have sent, indeed, a man of first rate talent in his room, and one whose appointment will be extremely popular in Delhi; but Sir Charles Metcalfe is not a soldier, and the Maharattas and 'children of the sun' are disposed to show very little reverence to a 'kulum ka admee,' 'a man of the reed,' (pen) in comparison with a 'tulwar ka admee,' or 'swordsman.' Meantime Bhurtpoor is any thing but quiet; the present regent is drunk every day, and at daggers-drawing with his sister-in-law, the rannee, who, with the heir apparent, has fortified herself in a part of the palace; while the feudal chieftains and their armed retainers are doing mischief without controul, so far as each other's property is concerned, and have latterly even begun to menace the villages within the company's territory. On the whole, the general opinion seems to be that, after all which has been done and undone, another siege of Bhurtpoor *will* take place soon after the rains, at latest.

"This presidency is tranquil every where but on its northern and western frontier, which never is, and never is likely to be in perfect peace, both from the frequent droughts and famines to which it is liable, and the singularly warlike and lawless character of the people, the Bheels, Kholies, and Jahrejah Rajpoots. The country is most fortunate in its governor, Mr. Elphinstone, who enjoys, by all which I can learn, the esteem both of natives and Europeans to a degree which few rulers have enjoyed.

"The war in Ava is, by this time, I suppose, again nearly at a stand still. Lord Amherst writes in excellent spirits, and in good hopes of peace; but the chance of dictating terms from Ummerapoora, which most of our Indian politicians had cherished, is likely to be deferred, for several months at least, by the arrival of the rainy season."

While the bishop was in Bombay, he attended the tenth annual examination of the children educated by the "Bombay Education Society." This society was established in 1815: its chief object is to bring up the children of Europeans as Christians, and to give them such knowledge and industrious habits as may render them useful members of society; while, at the same time, it admits native children into its schools, and instructs them in European knowledge and literature. Although it has received some assistance from the company, and has since been united to a school maintained by government, it is mainly supported by the munificence of individuals. Its objects are not confined to the presidency, but, as far as the means permit, embrace several of its out-stations. The bishop visited several of these schools on his tour.

Dr. Barnes by his zeal and unremitting attention, had brought this institution to its present degree of usefulness; and he had the gratification, but seldom enjoyed in India, of witnessing the benefits arising from it. He had watched the progress of the children educated in the central schools at Bombay, had seen many of them, filling useful and respectable stations in society, and he had now the pleasure of beholding the foundation laid of still greater good.

The school-rooms were too small to contain the increasing numbers, and government had granted a piece of ground at Byculla, an airy and central situation in the island, for building two schools capable of holding three hundred and fifty boarders, and a day school for five hundred scholars, the estimated expense of which was 10,000*l*. The foundation stones were laid on the 5th of May, in the presence of almost all the European population, and many of the most respectable natives; that of the boys' school by Mr. Elphinstone and Dr. Barnes, that of the girls' by Lady West and Lady Chambers. The buildings are separated by a considerable space, on which the children were assembled, and after the ceremony, the bishop, standing in the centre, offered up the following prayer for God's blessing on the work.

"Lord of all power and might, who art the Author and Giver of all good things, we yield Thee humble thanks for thy rich mercies vouchsafed to our nation; for the power and greatness; the temporal renown, and temporal prosperity which Thou hast entrusted to us; and more particularly for the safety, influence, and dominion which we here enjoy in a foreign land, and amid a people of strange language and religion. We bless Thee for all the great and goodly gifts of human wisdom and science; for our progress in the arts of peace and war, and for all the many advantages which wait on wealth and civilization. But above all, we bless Thee for the knowledge of Thyself, Thy mercy and great salvation; for the means of grace here bestowed, and the everlasting happiness which, through the merits of Thy Son, Thou hast prepared and held out to us hereafter. Make us duly and unfeignedly thankful, O gracious Lord, for these Thine undeserved mercies; and bless to us, our posterity, our countrymen, our fellow subjects, and the whole race of mankind, the charitable desire which we now entertain of communicating the like advantages to others! Let Thy mighty protection rest on the building whose corner-stone we dedicate to Thee! Let Thy fatherly blessing remain with all who may hereafter either teach or learn within these walls. That from hence, as from a fountain of useful and holy knowledge, the generations to come may learn to serve and please Thee; and

that we ourselves, Thy sinful servants, may enjoy through Thy grace the work of our hands; and, by beholding the effect of those truths which we impart, may be the better taught to value those which have been imparted to us; so that our conversation in this world may be a living lesson, and every word and work and thought be devoted to Thy praise and glory, through thy Son Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*"

When this interesting ceremony was concluded, the archdeacon gave a public breakfast in two large tents near the proposed buildings, when the bishop, in the name of the society, addressed the governor in the following words:

"I have been deputed by the supporters of the institution, to be the organ by which their thanks may be returned to your excellency, and to the other distinguished persons assembled, for thus countenancing by their presence the commencement of a work which their liberality has enabled them to undertake. This is a most gratifying sight; and I trust I may be allowed to indulge an honest pride in expressing my belief that the British are the only persons who can exhibit it, while, I am persuaded, that the Protestant is the only religion which can lead to it. It is a grateful sight to see the high, the talented, and the valorous unite to grace with their presence a work, the object of which is to promote the education of the poor. It is impossible for us to look on the group of children now before us, to hear their seraphic voices, and to consider who they are, and what may be the consequences of their education, without the deepest interest. They are the children of those who have fought our battles, and have shed their blood, side by side, with our fellow countrymen; and it is to them and their children that, humanly speaking, we must look for the improvement of the people over whom we rule, and their conversion from the errors of their superstition to the pure tenets of our faith. So that even if the sway of England, like other dynasties, should pass away, (which God grant may be far distant!) we shall be chiefly remembered by the blessings which we have left behind.

"I cannot refrain from taking this opportunity of expressing

my thanks to his excellency the commander in chief,* for his uniform patronage of this institution and of education generally; nor from declaring that at every station which I have visited, I have seen evidence of his being not only the soldier's friend, but the friend of the soldier's child.

"The liberality of the rules by which this institution is managed deserves every commendation; none are excluded from its benefits; and the importance of pursuing this enlarged and generous policy, is obvious to me from the experience of every day. We shall be able, in the first place, by pursuing this system, to train up the numerous class of children, with which we are so nearly connected,—a class which is now seen round every camp, showing by strong lineaments the progress of British population,—to support the name of our country in the east—to disseminate among the natives the arts in which we excell, and even to become the heralds of the Christian faith. It must be by this liberal policy, and this intermixture of our own children with those of the natives, that we may hope, by the blessing of Providence, to see the mighty example of England work upon their hearts; we may hope, and it is a blessed hope, that when they are educated as we are educated, and shall see and know the course by which the wisdom of our statesmen, the purity of our judges, the valour of our soldiers have been formed, they will learn to think highly of the source from which such effects have followed. We are apt, in thinking of the attainments of a polished people, to be dazzled at the higher branches of knowledge in which they excell, and to fix our attention chiefly upon them; but we should never forget that it is only when education is infused to the core, that the elevated in rank can be raised to that refinement which we admire. It has now been sufficiently proved that the natives of this country are not deficient in intellect or in curiosity; and consequently, our efforts for diffusing education among them can have no other limits but those which are imposed by the funds at our command.

"By beginning, as we are doing, with the lower classes, I trust that the diffusion of knowledge may spread through every

* The Honourable Sir Charles Colville, G. C. B.

rank, and operate like leaven, which, though little in bulk, gives lightness and wholesomeness to the whole."

In concluding, the bishop alluded in terms of the warmest commendation, to the governor's unceasing exertions to promote the education both of natives and Europeans.

"*May* 24.—The bishop lost no opportunity of letting himself be seen and heard in the pulpit. He preached regularly, not only where he consecrated churches, but at every station in our journey north of Bombay, wherever he passed the Sunday. While in Bombay he preached frequently at St. Thomas's Church, and assisted in administering the sacrament there the first Sunday in every month. He did not consecrate the temporary buildings erected for divine service at Matoonga or Colabah, but he licensed them, and took occasion to preach in each; thus completing his appearance at every place set apart for divine service according to our liturgy.

"Until the beginning of June the bishop resided in the bungalow on the esplanade; while there, he frequently received the clergy at his own table, and conversed freely with them on the subject of their duties, encouraging them in their exertions; and it is but justice to the Bombay clergy to say, that he always expressed himself in the highest terms of their diligence and zeal, to both of which he had ample means of testifying."*

In mentioning the illness with which the bishop was attacked on his arrival at Poonah, as related in his own journal, and which was brought on by fatigue, and by being exposed two successive nights to the rains of the Deckan in his palanquin, Dr. Barnes observes, "The bishop was exceedingly anxious, however, to fulfil his engagements, and could not be dissuaded from consecrating the church, preaching, holding a confirmation, and consecrating the burial ground. On his return from each of these duties he was so exhausted as to be obliged to lie down on his bed. * * * The bishop much regretted

* Dr. Barnes's MS. Journal.

that his state of health prevented his seeing more of the city of Poonah, which is an interesting place from having been so long the residence of the Peishwah, and from being now the chief civil and military settlement of the British force in the Deckan. On our return to Bombay we not only got wet through in the bunder boat in passing from Panwell to Tannah, but the tide being very low when we arrived near the latter place, we were unable to get to the fort by water, and were obliged to walk for a mile or more in very hard rain. I fear that the bishop must, from his previous illness, have suffered much. When he went to Tannah a few days after to consecrate the church, he was too unwell to preach, as he had always done on similar occasions, and, at his desire, I preached for him."*

To the Rev. Principal Mill.

Bombay, July, 1825.

"My Dear Sir,

"I have much satisfaction in informing you that I have received a letter from Mr. Lushington, apprizing me of the transfer of the settlement of Chinsurah to the British government, accepting my offer of providing for the service of the church at that station, and stating that it shall be held at my disposal until more permanent arrangements relative to it shall be made. Under these circumstances, and apprehending from my knowledge of Mr. Morton's own wishes, and the state of his family's health, that it will be desirable to remove him from Cossipoor, I have written a letter to government stating that I have appointed Mr. Morton to that situation; but, in consideration of my present distance from Calcutta, and that circumstances may have arisen to make this measure inexpedient, I enclose the letter to you, and shall be much obliged to you to forward it to government, if your views and those of Mr. Morton coincide with mine; but to keep it back, apprizing me of the circumstance by a letter to Colombo, should any thing make a change of plans necessary. Mr. Tweddell will, I suppose, be competent to undertake the circle of schools relinquished by Mr. Morton.

* Dr. Barnes's MS. Journal.

"It will be desirable to ascertain whether the residents of Chinsurah, who have been represented as well disposed to receive and profit by an English clergyman, and the regular service of our Church, are likely to contribute any thing towards furnishing Mr. Morton with a residence. If not, though this will doubtless be, in the present state of things, a fresh drain on the college funds, I do not think we should shrink from so favourable an opportunity of obtaining the use of a large church ready built, and establishing ourselves in an important missionary station. I do not know whether the Methodist missionaries (as I believe they are) who have fixed themselves at Chinsurah and in its neighbourhood, have been in the habit of using the church. If this be the case, which is most likely, we may expect opposition and counter petitions from them; urging that the inhabitants of Chinsurah have been always accustomed to the Presbyterian form of worship, &c. To prevent or frustrate this, it will be desirable to have an early communication with the principal Dutch and English inhabitants of the place, to conciliate them in Mr. Morton's favour, and to point out the advantages of a regularly resident clergyman for the celebration of marriages, &c. If you can find time to accompany Mr. Morton on a visit to Chinsurah for this purpose, taking with you any body of your acquaintance who knows the leading people there (Mr. Thomason I think answers to this character) it may have the best effects. Should the character of the dissenting preacher who has now possession of the church (supposing such a person to exist thus situated) be respectable, and should it seem probable that he will be able to excite any formidable opposition to us, I am even prepared to say that a compromise may be allowable; I mean, so far as to tell him that we do not mean any thing personally hostile to him; and that he and his congregation may still, *for the present*, continue to use the church once every Sunday, in the same way as I am told, that there are alternate Dutch and English services at the Cape and at Colombo. We shall thus obtain firm and peaceable, if not an undivided possession of the church; and it is not improbable that so marked a preference will be shown to our ceremonies, and to Mr. Morton's preaching (assisted as he may be by other

aids from Calcutta) as will induce the Methodist of himself to withdraw from a theatre, in which his inferior popularity will be apparent. At all events, when the present missionary dies or leaves the neighbourhood, the church will be our's entirely. This compromise, however, I do not suggest as in itself desirable, far otherwise; but merely as an expedient to avoid worse mischief, and to obtain a peaceable and popular introduction into Chinsurah, which it may be allowable to concede, should the course of affairs appear in your judgment to make it advisable.

"Now that Chinsurah is open to us, there is no doubt, I think, but that it is preferable either to Patna or Moorshedabad. Should our means enable us hereafter to go further a-field, I agree with you that the latter station is preferable to those which I had mentioned.

. . . . . .

"I hope, by God's blessing, to sail for Colombo the 8th or 9th of next month. * * * * * * In my late journey to Poonah I was made very ill by getting wet; the complaint still hangs on me, and though better, I am so weak that I have been obliged two or three times to stop and rest myself while writing this letter.

"I have obtained permission from this government for Mr. Robinson to accompany me to Calcutta on the public ground of over-looking the progress of his work. I hope to reach Calcutta the beginning of October.

"Believe me ever very truly your's,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

"I feel conscious that I have in this letter chalked out for you a deal of trouble, and thrown a great weight of responsibility on your shoulders. But you will, I am sure, excuse this, both on the grounds of my absence and the necessity of the case.

"In writing my letter to government it has since occurred to me, that considerable facility will be gained by desiring them to instruct their agent to give Mr. Morton possession, which I have

done. It may be also desirable that you should have some communication with that gentleman, and introduce Mr. Morton to him."

To the Right Honourable Lord Amherst.

Pareil (Bombay,) July 20, 1825.

"My Dear Lord,

"I have heard with very sincere concern, though without surprise, considering the severe and unremitting attention to business which you have paid during the most exhausting months of this exhausting climate, of your lordship's indisposition; but I hope that your excursion on the river, though made under less favourable auspices than the journey which I had ventured to anticipate for you, will, by the fresh air, change of scenery, and quiet, which it is calculated to bestow, have, long since, given your naturally strong constitution time to resume its play, and have completely restored you to health and activity. I remember an old physician in England who, on being asked after his health, replied that he had 'no time to be ill.' Your lordship is, like him, never likely to have much leisure to enjoy the luxury of nursing; but it is some consolation that, since illness was inevitable, it did not overtake you till a moment when the intense pressure of public difficulties through which you have had to fight your way was, in a great measure, surmounted; till Bhurtpoor was pacified, Assam and Arracan conquered, and two-thirds of the Birman empire in the military possession of Great Britian. With successes so remarkable, and the more so as contrasted with the singularly untoward and gloomy circumstances of imperfect information beyond the frontier, and misrepresentation and mutiny within it, which embarrassed all your measures last year, you may, I should hope with perfect security, allow yourself some of that repose and relaxation which the most fortunate constitution, thus tried, must require.

"I owe your lordship many thanks for your kind and truly interesting letter, which gave me the greater pleasure, because it enabled me, on more than one occasion, to expose the falsehood of the report to which you have adverted, and which,

whether it was hatched in India or in England, was evidently a malicious lie, as well as a foolish one, of your disagreement with Sir Edward Paget. I had before been able to say that I had left you on, apparently, the best terms; but it was, of course, an additional satisfaction to me, and likely to have a good effect on the public mind here, to expose, from more recent and better authority, this strange fabrication of the '*frondeurs*.' What these gentry will next discover, or, which is easier, invent, is not very easy nor very material to anticipate. Your lordship will have observed, perhaps, that the government of Bombay has lately shared in a considerable portion of their malignity, as well as the supreme government; and that they have attacked Mr. Elphinstone on points (such as indifference or aversion to the feelings and interests of the natives) on which, to judge of him either by all which I hear of his conduct, and all which I have observed of his conversation and character, he is the furthest removed from blame.

* * * * * * * * *

"Bombay itself, though a pretty and pleasant island, is a poor place by way of town, and the society much more confined than that of Calcutta. The neighbouring ghâts, leading into the Deckan, are very beautiful, and remind me of some of the best parts of North Wales. But nothing which I have yet seen on this side of India can compare in verdure with Bengal, in fertility with Bahar and parts of Oude, or in magnificent beauty with Kemaoon and the Himalaya. The people, too, are, I think, an inferior and less industrious, as they are certainly a less civilized and cleanly race, than the Hindoostanees. Between their various tribes, however, a great difference, as may be supposed, is found. The Guzerattees, particularly the Kholees, are a manly and bold looking, though very troublesome and ferocious people, always armed to the teeth; and with their short kirtles, swords, shields, quivers, and bows, (these last not made like those of Hindoostan, but in the common English form,) gave me one of the liveliest impressions I ever received of the followers of our Robin Hood in Sherwood, or of the ancient inhabitants of that vale (Homesdale, I believe it is) in Kent, which boasts that it "was never won, nor ever shall." The Maharatta,

on the other hand, of whom I have been led to form a romantic notion, is a little, bustling, voluble, smooth spoken person, apparently governed with less trouble, and more disposed, when he is once on good terms with the constituted authorities, to keep so, than most of the nations on this wide continent. I find, however, that many of the public men here are disposed to ascribe the comparative infrequency of crimes and disturbances in the Deckan, and the other newly acquired provinces, less to the temper of the people, than to their being under the authority of special commissioners, who administer justice in a summary form, and, in a great degree, through the medium of their own punchaets, instead of the tedious, costly, and generally venal process of the regular adawlut; a system which, whether justly or no, seems more unpopular both with Indians and Europeans, than any other part of our eastern polity. * * *

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"My return will, I trust, not be deferred longer than the beginning of October, having in the meantime visited Ceylon. It would in all probability have been considerably earlier, but I have been detained here more than a month by a very unpleasant investigation into the character of one of the clergy, a man of considerable talent, and high pretensions to austere holiness, who has been accused of gross misconduct. * * *

* * * * *

"I am anxious, if possible, to settle it extra-judicially, but am even now by no means sure that it will be justifiable, if possible, to get rid of it in this manner.

"This place has been visited by a good deal of sickness, but not so much as appears to have prevailed in Calcutta. The rains here are abundant, but Mr. Elphinstone tells me that both in the Deckan and Guzerat, a very insufficient supply has as yet fallen.

"Believe me, my dear Lord,
"Your Lordship's much obliged,
"and faithful humble servant,
"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

The examination into the conduct of one of the chaplains at Bombay, which is mentioned in the preceding letter, detained

the bishop in the island much longer than he had expected. This inquiry he determined, with the advice of his legal assistant, on making privately, both because the inefficiency of the consistory court for the correction of clergymen had been experienced by Bishop Middleton on a former occasion, and also because its forms and details were not only ill understood in India, but were encumbered with many peculiar difficulties. As the inquiry proceeded, the charges became so serious, that he hesitated whether to have recourse to the authority of the civil government, by which a chaplain might be sent to England, or to censure him in the only manner still remaining in his power. After much deliberation the bishop determined on adopting the latter course; but, on some further particulars coming to his knowledge, at a later period, he expressed to the editor his regret at having pursued the more lenient course.

On the 15th of August he sailed for Ceylon, accompanied by Mr. Robinson, the chaplain of Poonah, whom he had appointed his domestic chaplain, and who was, by this nomination, enabled to superintend, in person, the printing his translation of the Pentateuch into Persian, a task on which he had long been occupied, at the press at Bishop's College.

In Ceylon the Bishop also established a district committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and even in that poor colony, six hundred pounds were raised to found a Cingalese exhibition in the mission college at Calcutta.

The kindness with which the bishop here, as elsewhere, met the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, and the zeal with which he entered into their concerns, excited in them a deep feeling of attachment to his person, and increased veneration for his holy office. The following account of his visit to Cotta, by Mr. Robinson will be read with a melancholy interest:

"At day-break this morning I attended his lordship six miles from Colombo to Cotta, the principal missionary station, where they intend to establish a Christian institution for the island. He was received, on entering, by five missionaries; and Mr. Lambrick read an address, in the name of all, expressive of their joy at ranging themselves under his paternal authority, their grati-

tude for his kindness, and their thankfulness for his present visit, and at seeing a friend, and protector, and father in their lawful superior; then laying before him the account of their state and prospects. I assure you this address was neither read nor heard without tears. The bishop, who had no intimation of their purpose, returned a most kind and affectionate answer, attaching to himself still more strongly the hearts which were already his own. His utterance was ready, and only checked by the strong emotion of the time.

"The scene was to me most beautiful. We were embowered in the sequestered woods of Ceylon, in the midst of a Heathen population; and here was a transaction worthy of an apostolic age;—a Christian bishop, his heart full of love, and full of zeal for the cause of his Divine Master, received in his proper character by a body of missionaries of his own church, who, with full confidence and affection, ranged themselves under his authority, as his servants and fellow-labourers,—men of devoted piety, of sober wisdom, whose labours were at that moment before him, and whose reward is in Heaven."* Of the same visit Mr. Lambrick observed, "to see our excellent bishop, with the most conciliating kindness, interesting himself in all our work, taking part in it as a fellow-labourer, and animating us to proceed with the assured hope of final success,—to see him so humble, though so highly gifted, so venerable, though comparatively young, so primitive and apostolic in his manners, though adorned with all the refinements of the most cultivated politeness, this was indeed a most delightful spectacle."†

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* Church Missionary Register, 1827.

† Ibid. "The bishop of Calcutta in his visitations, inspected the schools, confirmed the native Christians, and administered the sacrament, manifesting in every place, the liveliest interest in the missionary cause, and gladdening the church by his presence. The native Christians have thus, for the first time, been brought into close and understood connexion with our episcopal head; for it was his practice at every station to administer the sacred elements to them, and pronounce the blessing in their own language, thus teaching them to regard him as their chief pastor, and winning them in all other respects by the most affectionate conciliating and impressive address. A year thus distinguished can never be erased from their minds; they have learned to appreciate the privilege of being united in one body according to the Scriptural forms and discipline of the English Church."—*Calcutta Church Missionary Society's Report.*

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Point de Galle, Sept. 27, 1825.

"DEAR ARCHDEACON,

"* * * I have passed a very interesting month in Ceylon; but never in my life, to the best of my recollection, passed so laborious a one. I really think that there are better hopes of an abundant and early harvest of Christianity here, while, at the same time, there are more objects connected with its dissemination and establishment which call for the immediate and almost continued attention of a bishop, than are to be found in all India besides. I hope I have been partly enabled to set things going, and design, in the course of my visitation of the south of Madras next spring, to run over again, for a week or ten days, to Jaffna at least, if not to Colombo, when I may both see the effects of my measures, and possibly extend them. My chief anxiety is to raise the character of the native proponents, and, by degrees, elevate them into an ordained and parochial clergy. This, with a better system introduced into the government schools, will soon, I trust, make many new Christians, and render some professing Christians less unworthy of their names than they now are.

"The new archdeacon, Mr. Glennie, is a very valuable man, and the church missionaries in this island, are really patterns of what missionaries ought to be; zealous, discreet, orderly, and most active: Mr. Robinson will have told you what has been done for Bishop's College. It is really a great deal for so poor an island. In the midst of my many engagements it has been quite impossible for me to finish the letter to the archbishop. I hope to send it you immediately on my arrival in Calcutta.

"Believe me,

"With sincere esteem and regard,

"Ever most truly your's,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

The voyage from Bombay to Ceylon, and thence to Calcutta, was so tedious, that the bishop did not arrive at the latter place till the 21st of October. All these delays, and the business necessary to be transacted after so long an absence from the presidency, obliged him to abandon his intention of spending the ensuing Christmas at Madras, and of visiting the southern provinces during the remainder of the cool season. But for these repeated and unfortunate detentions, he might, to our finite views, by avoiding the great heats on the Malabar coast, have completed that journey in safety, and been sometime longer spared to his family, and to that country for whose eternal welfare he was labouring to the utmost of, and alas! beyond his strength and ability!

CHAPTER XXVII.

District Committee of the Society for Propagating the Gospel formed in Calcutta—Success of the Bishop's applications for assistance in his plans for the improvement of the natives—Mission among the Puharrees—Converted Hindoo—Death of Mr. Adam—Letter to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Books sent to All Souls—Ordination of Abdul Musseeh—The Bishop visits Chinsurah—His illness—Departure for Madras. 1826.

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Calcutta, Oct. 27, 1825.

"My Dear Sir,

"I have just heard that you are to sail homewards on or about the 15th of next month; in consequence of which I lose no time in sending off one copy of my letter to the archbishop, of which I shall be much obliged to you to take charge.

"We arrived here, all of us safe and well, after a tedious and, latterly, a stormy passage, on Friday last, and had the happiness to find our little girl at Mr. Pearson's, in good health.

"And now my dear and valued friend, accept my best adieus, and my thanks for the pleasure and advantage which I have received from your advice, your agreeable conversation, and your unvaried good-nature and kindness. You have my best prayers for your safe passage, and your speedy and happy reunion with those who are most dear to you. In India we shall miss you sadly; but who, under such circumstances, could urge you to remain any longer?

"Pray offer my best compliments and good wishes to Mrs. Barnes, as also my kind regards to your brother, and, if you meet them, to our friends the Honys.

"Believe me ever your sincere friend,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

On his return to Calcutta, the principal object which first attracted the bishop's attention, was the superintendence of the new buildings at the college, and of the various improvements in the grounds, which were so essential to the health and comfort of its inhabitants. He also put his original intention into execution, of forming a district committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, on the same footing with those of Bombay and Ceylon; and he addressed letters to the residents in Calcutta, and to all the influential persons with whom he had become acquainted on his tour through the upper provinces, requesting their assistance in forwarding his views.

Circular sent to different Gentlemen in Calcutta on occasion of the establishment of the Diocesan Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Chowringhee, Nov. 1825.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have the honour to send for your inspection a copy of the proceedings of a meeting held at Bombay, for the establishment of a district committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in which the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone, and all the members of government, took an active and munificent part, and which has been since followed up by collections in all the different churches of that presidency, and by the accession of the names of the most distinguished civil and military officers at its principal stations.

"A like course was pursued, and with the like liberality and munificence at Ceylon, where his excellency the governor presided at the meeting; and where an exhibition was endowed for the permanent maintenance of a Cingalese student in Bishop's

College; and I am led to expect a further considerable remittance for the general purposes and present exigencies of the institution.

"In conformity with the measures which have, in these instances, received the approbation of the public and the government, it is my intention to preach a sermon for the benefit of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, on Advent Sunday next, (the 27th of this month,) and on the Monday following, should my design receive the necessary encouragement, to assemble at my house a meeting of the well wishers of the society, and form a committee for carrying its objects into effect, in the same manner and for the like purposes as in Bombay.

"As it is, however, extremely desirable for me, in the meantime, to ascertain with some degree of certainty, the degree of countenance with which my plan is likely to be honoured, may I request the favour of an answer at your earliest leisure, to state whether it will be perfectly convenient for you to favour the meeting with your attendance; or, should that not be the case, whether I may be so fortunate as to find you favourably disposed towards the plan to which I attach so much importance.

"I will only beg leave to add my hope, that the caution and temper displayed in all the measures and by all the functionaries of the distinguished and benevolent society whose cause I plead; the inoffensive and useful nature of the institution of Bishop's College; and the countenance and support which, in consequence, both these have received from our sovereign and countrymen at home, and in this country from so many distinguished individuals in the service of his majesty and the honourable company, will be regarded as sufficient grounds of assurance that, neither in the projected meeting, nor in the association consequent to it, any thing will be suffered which is likely to give offence to our unconverted fellow subjects, or which is at variance with that wise respect for their feelings and prejudices, which has been uniformly maintained and enforced by the government of British India.

"I have the honour to remain, dear Sir,

"Your faithful and obedient servant,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

From almost every quarter the bishop had the gratification of receiving handsome subscriptions, and promises of future assistance. A portion of the money was expressly given for the completion of the college buildings, while the remainder was to be applied to forwarding missionary works in connexion with it.*

One of the many gratifying circumstances of the bishop's residence in India, and which was, doubtless, in a great degree to be attributed to the respect and affection with which he had inspired all ranks of men, was the success that attended applications of this nature. His plans for the benefit of the native, as well as of the European population, were ever met with cordial and active co-operation; and notwithstanding the immense labour attending his situation, under which, in so depressing and enervating a climate, even his energies would occasionally sink; and notwithstanding the painful separation from his family which that climate had caused, such was the unbounded interest he took in the country and in his duties, and so great was the gratification he felt at this cheerful furtherance of all his schemes, that he more than once said to the editor, that were it possible to educate their children in India, and to preserve their health, he would give up all thoughts of returning to England, and would end his days among the objects of his solicitude.

The accounts the bishop continued to receive of the mission he had established among the Puharrees, were such as to confirm his opinion of the benefits likely to arise from it, so long as its conduct was entrusted to a man like Mr. Christian. Had he lived to return from the southern visitation, he would have visited this establishment himself, to direct its further progress, and, if possible, to extend its ramifications among the Garrows, and those other mountain tribes, whose freedom of caste, and general superiority of character, appeared likely to facilitate the growth of Christianity among them. But this, and all the other plans for the welfare of India, which his early death interrupted, are, so far as his own eternal happiness is concerned,

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* Among the subscribers appeared the name of Baboo Muthornauth Mullich, a Hindoo gentleman of great respectability, who, after visiting the College, begged to give 400 sicca rupees annually to its support.

already performed in the sight of Him, before whom the past, present, and future, appear in one view, and who knoweth what is in the heart of man.

To Charles Lushington, Esq.

Chowringhee, November 18, 1825.

"My Dear Sir,

"I cannot help troubling you with this note to condole with you most sincerely on the loss which yourself and the public have sustained in your excellent and able friend Mr. Adam. This is a melancholy world and a melancholy part of it, where, more than in most other countries, it is impossible to love or value any body highly, without recollecting, at the same time, how surely they must be, and how soon they may be taken from us!

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Ever most truly your's,

"Reginald Calcutta."

To the Reverend A. M. Campbell, Secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Calcutta, December 7, 1825.

"Reverend and Dear Sir,

"Your obliging letter only reached me at the moment of my departure from Ceylon for this place in the month of October; and I was induced to defer writing an immediate answer, in the expectation of being shortly able both to send you a more accurate statement of the situation of the diocesan committee of Calcutta, and of obtaining from Mr. Hawtayne, whom I expected to meet there, and who has not long since returned from the south of India, satisfactory information as to the state of the Protestant churches there, and the expediency of sending out fresh missionaries from Europe on the part of your society. Since my return I have to apologize for the fact that above a month has passed without my writing. But I trust I shall meet the indulgence of the society, when I state that I have been

busily and most anxiously occupied in the promotion of a measure in which their interests and more extended usefulness, as well as those of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and, as I believe, of the whole Indian Church, are closely implicated,—the establishment, I mean, of a diocesan committee of the society above named, and a transfer to this new body, from the diocesan committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, of the schools established and maintained under its auspices, in the villages round Calcutta. In this project, so far as it has been yet carried into effect, I have succeeded to the full extent of my hopes. But this, with the necessary accumulation of other business, occasioned by my long absence from this side of India, has left it actually impossible for me till now to undertake any but the local and pressing engagements which claimed my first attention.

"With reference to the immediate question proposed to me in your obliging letter, I have no doubt, both from Mr. Hawtayne's information, and from all which I had previously gleaned from different sources, that the presence of one or more missionaries from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, on the Coromandel coast, is extremely to be desired, and, in fact, greatly needed. At Vepery, since the death of Mr. Falcke, there are only the venerable Dr. Rottler, and Mr. Haubroe, of whom, the first is unequal, from his age and infirmities, to bear, even for a short period, the weight of the mission alone; while the second is obliged, from time to time, to leave him for the purposes of inspecting the progress of the southern missionary stations in the neighbourhood of Tanjore, and of administering the sacraments to their members.

"Still further south, the populous and important district of Palamcottah appears to offer one of the most favourable and promising fields in India for discreet and diligent labourers. And though this field, first planted by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, has, since their missionaries have been withdrawn, been cultivated with considerable success by the Church Missionary Society, yet would further help be extremely acceptable and useful there. By all which I can learn, the very name of their ancient benefactors sounds agreeably in the ears

of these poor people, and they would hail with no common delight, and receive with no common reverence, a teacher from the society by whose bounty their ancestors and themselves were first brought from darkness to the light of salvation.

"Nor can I hold out any early probability of these wants being supplied from Bishop's College. That institution, indeed, (I thank God for being able to say so,) is in point of discipline, method of instruction, the progress made by its few scholars, and the unwearied diligence and distinguished talent of my excellent friend the principal, every thing which I could wish it to be. There are already two very fine youths among its inmates, Godfrey and Garstin; the one the son of respectable parents in Madras, the other of one of his majesty's chaplains in Ceylon, —whom I have always regarded as peculiarly applicable to the missions of Southern India: and I expect every day a young man, who has been highly recommended, a native Christian, and son of a man of some consequence among the Malabars of Ceylon, to fill the place of Tamul teacher, and possibly himself, in due time, to be a candidate for holy orders, and the office of a missionary.

"It is evident, however, from the age of these lads, and the utter ignorance of every thing like European literature which they brought with them to the college, that some considerable time must elapse before they can be safely dismissed from it. Nor do the statutes allow (even if the obvious propriety of the case did allow it) of any persons being sent out as missionaries themselves, till they have served a reasonable time as catechists under other missionaries. And it is, as I conceive, of much importance, both that the missionaries who undertake the charge of the south of India, should commence their course under the advice and guidance of Dr. Rottler; and that, in the event of that venerable man's decease, the native Christians should be left as short a time as possible under the sole management of Mr. Haubroe, who, though a man of respectable character, is, I believe, not popular among them; and who is accused (I know not how justly, for the charge and disclaimer are both equally positive,) of having attacked some of their remaining prejudices with regard to caste, in a manner which Schwartz,

Jenicke, and Pœzold never thought it advisable to do, but the particulars of which have been so variously and vehemently stated, that I have been compelled to reserve my opinion till I should be myself an eye and ear witness. That has not yet happened to me, but I hope it will ere many months are over.

"It is then, I really conceive, of much importance to the honour of the society and the welfare of Christianity in India, that two missionaries, if possible, or one at least, should be furnished to the stations of Coromandel. And with a view to their early arrival on the spot, I should strongly recommend, in opposition to what would be my advice under different circumstances, that they should not be sent to Bishop's College, but immediately to Madras and Vepery. In Bishop's College, in fact, there is really no room for them. The accommodation which its buildings, elegant as they are externally, afford, is so small and ill-contrived as to be very barely and uncomfortably sufficient for even those who are, or who may shortly be expected to become its inhabitants. If they lodge in Calcutta or Howrah, they would do so at great expense, and at four or five miles distance from the college. Of the eastern languages which are taught there, that which they chiefly require is Tamul, which they may as well or better learn at Vepery. The expense of the voyage between Calcutta and Madras will be saved; and, more than all, they will be earlier on the scene of action, and while they acquire the language, will acquire some knowledge at the same time of the people with whom they are to converse.

"While, however, I am thus anxious for the speedy arrival of missionaries, I trust I am not illiberal in expressing a hope that the society will supply us with episcopally ordained clergymen. Englishmen by nation, as well as in church discipline, are on many weighty accounts to be preferred. But if these are not forth-coming, I would earnestly recommend a recourse to the ancient and apostolic churches of Denmark and Sweden, from whose universities, as I conceive, there would be no difficulty in obtaining learned and meritorious candidates for such an employment.

"With the individual missionaries of the Lutheran church now in the employ of the society, I am far, very far, indeed,

from having any reason to be dissatisfied. Mr. Haubroe, though unpopular with a considerable party, is highly spoken of for his diligence, abilities, and general character. And in the venerable Dr. Rottler, and the excellent Mr. Falcke, but lately lost to us, we have had two men such as India has seldom seen in the most illustrious times of missionary labour. Still there is a difference between them and us in matters of discipline and external forms, which often meets the eye of the natives, and produces an unfavourable effect on them. They are perplexed what character to assign to ministers of the gospel, whom we support and send forth to them, while we do not admit them into our own churches. And so much of the influence and authority which the Church of England is gradually acquiring with the Christians of different oriental stocks, (the Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians,) arises from our recognition of, and adherence to the apostolic institution of episcopacy, that it is greatly to be desired that all who are brought forward under our auspices in these countries, should, in this respect, agree with us.

"A strong perception of these inconveniences has induced three of the Lutheran missionaries employed in Bengal by the Church Missionary Society, with the approbation of that body, and in a considerable degree influenced by my opinion, to apply to me for re-ordination according to the rites of the Church of England; and I had much satisfaction in admitting them to deacon's orders on the last St. Andrew's day; and though I am far from *urging* any of those already engaged with us to contract, except by their own free choice and preference, this closer union; and though I trust that I shall not be suspected of showing any unkindness or distance towards those who are content with the species of commission which they have already received; I hope that in their choice of future labourers, the society will not disregard the suggestion which I have ventured to offer.

"With reference to the general interest and actual condition of the diocesan and archidiaconal committees of the society in these countries, I had till now, but little information to supply beyond that which is contained in their respective reports, with which the society is already familiar. It was this consideration

which induced me to a line of conduct, for which I feel that I owe some apology to the society, in deferring to write to them any detailed report of the state, either of their missions in the south or of their committees in the different presidencies, till I had enjoyed the opportunity, by actual inspection of the former, of forming an opinion both as to the best manner of consulting their interests, and the merits of those dissentions respecting which so contrary reports had reached me. And as (in conformity with the advice of some of the best friends of the society in this country, and the understood intentions of my excellent predecessor) I contemplated an early transfer of the diocesan schools to the superintendance of a different institution, I was anxious first to ascertain the facilities presented for such a measure, and its probable effects on the interests of the society, in order that I might be the better able to form a judgment as to the degree of support and encouragement for which, both in Calcutta and the other presidencies, we should still be compelled to look to them.

"Of the committee of Madras, for the reasons above stated, I would still wish to defer saying any thing, till my visitation of that archdeaconry. At Bombay I found the committee actively and usefully employed under the auspices of my excellent friend Archdeacon Barnes, and of a very zealous and effective secretary, the Rev. D. Young, chaplain of Matoongha. Their exertions have been chiefly directed to the circulation of the Scriptures, the liturgy, and the society's tracts in the English, Maharatta, Guzerattee, and recently in the Persian languages; to the supply of schools, regiments, &c., and the establishment of lending libraries. They have no schools under their own care; and, looking to the establishment which I then meditated and have since, by God's blessing, effected of an archidiaconal committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, I did not think it expedient to recommend their undertaking a task, which seemed more properly to fall within the department of this latter institution. Here, as elsewhere, the funds were low, and I thought myself justified in applying to their aid 100*l.* of the sum which the liberality of the Parent Society had placed at my disposal.

"With reference to this inadequacy of public subscription to answer all the widely extended objects of societies such as ours in India, (an inadequacy which I found also complained of in Ceylon, which, as I have reason to believe, is felt in Madras, and of which, as will shortly appear, we have been made painfully sensible in Calcutta,) it must be remembered that, in India, our contributions are raised from, comparatively, a very narrow circle of individuals; that of those individuals very few are in the receipt of large incomes, and that even these, looking forward to the cessation of those incomes, and their own speedy return to Europe, consider themselves rather as laboriously engaged in acquiring a competence, than as already in the possession of affluence. Great fortunes, indeed, are no longer, under any circumstances, to be rapidly made in the East, and the situations are very few where an ample fortune can be acquired under any circumstances whatever. And when the great and almost inevitable expenses of living and educating a family, in the manner which our previous habits and our anxiety for our children prompt us; when the great number of private applications for charity from disappointed and ruined European adventurers; the widows and children of officers, and distressed Christians of almost every country and complexion are considered; and when the number of charitable institutions is taken into the account, supported by subscription only, it is perhaps rather matter of surprise that so much can be raised in this way, than that all which can be raised should be often found insufficient. But besides all this, our English society is fluctuating to a degree of which, without personal experience, it is difficult to form an idea. What with deaths, departures for Europe, and changes of residence, the presidencies and more considerable stations are each like a vast inn; and after the absence of even a few months, the person most familiar with any of them returns to a new world of unknown faces and new predilections; in which, at every step, he is made painfully sensible of the loss or absence of some valued friend, now separated from him by an expanse of ocean, or by a yet more awful interval. Under such circumstances, it is needless to point out the loss which our institutions yearly sustain in the persons of some

of their best and most bountiful benefactors; or the increasing efforts, I may almost say the unceasing and importunate *mendicancy* which is necessary to sustain even the most popular and cherished institutions on a liberal and efficient basis.

"In Ceylon I found the archidiaconal committee of Colombo with an income which just enabled them to answer the demands made on their exertions; but altogether unequal to print new tracts or to maintain a circle of schools. The latter measure, indeed, which the liberality of the parent society, as expressed in Mr. Parker's letter, encouraged them to undertake, I did not think, at the present time expedient; both because something of the sort will, I trust, be done there also by the new committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which I succeeded in establishing; and because I had just laid before his excellency the governor a plan for restoring and connecting more closely with the Church of England, the system of parochial schools, and parochial religious instruction, which the Dutch government had established, and which, at a very moderate annual expense, may be expected to diffuse not merely a nominal but a genuine Christianity, through the greater part of that beautiful and extensive island. To my propositions I have as yet received no official answer, but have some reason to hope that they have been not unfavourably received. Should they be adopted, however, in their full extent, there will still be abundant and increasing scope for any additional exertions to which the liberality of the parent society may enable the archidiaconal committee, in an increased distribution of tracts and school-books, both in English, Tamul, and Cingalese; in the distribution of prizes to the best boys, (a measure the advantage of which will be perceptible to every one who has seen the nature of a Cingalese school, and the deep poverty and apathetic indifference of the lower ranks of the Cingalese population,) and, above all, in that which is, of all other measures, best calculated to give efficiency to the government schools, and secure their attachment to, and connexion with, the Church of England; the establishment of one or more central schools, for the board and education of a certain number of native Christian youths, in order to qualify them to act as schoolmasters, and with the

further view, in case of promising talents, of sending recruits to Bishop's College.

"Besides these, there is another object of very great and immediate importance to the cause of Christianity in Ceylon, which properly falls within the province of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The native proponents or catechists, (whom I am most anxious to raise in character and acquirements, and, by degrees, to admit them into holy orders, and make them the ground-work of a regular parochial clergy,) though good men and willing to do their best for the instruction and improvement of their flocks, are, themselves, very many of them, extremely ill-informed, and destitute of the means of acquiring information. Above all, they greatly need some plain sermons to read to their people; and I have already, in consequence, encouraged some of the colonial clergy to undertake translations into the Tamul and Cingalese languages, of the book of Homilies; which I purpose to follow up with similar translations of Berens' Village Sermons, Wilson's sermons, and some other of the more popular works in the society's supplementary catalogue. In printing these volumes any assistance which the society may find itself justified in affording, will be most usefully employed; while the Tamul versions (more especially) will not be confined to Ceylon alone, but extend themselves and their utility through the vast and populous regions of the neighbouring continent, in which Tamul is the prevailing language. Accordingly, though no *immediate* assistance seemed necessary to the archidiaconal committee of Colombo, beyond what trifling aid might flow from private donations, yet with a view to these ulterior, and by no means distant objects, I would beg leave most earnestly to recommend it to the society's munificence, as, perhaps, affording a more promising field than any other in India, for the dissemination and growth of Christianity.

"The diocesan committee in Calcutta has not fallen short of any other in India or Europe, in its zealous and judicious services to the Church, and the liberality of its supporters. Yet here also, in part from the causes to which I have already referred, and in part from some unusual, though very necessary

expenses which devolved on it, a failure of funds was more than apprehended, and a debt contracted,—to discharge a part of which, I had recourse (at the committee's desire) to the fund which the liberality of the parent society had entrusted to me,—first to the amount of 1000 sicca rupees, and afterwards of 2000 more.

"Of these burthens the greater part had arisen from the expenses incident to extending and maintaining in an efficient state, and under the superintendence of the missionaries of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the circle of schools at *Howrah*, *Cossipoor*, and *Russipugla*, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. These schools, the latter more particularly, which had originally been brought together by the zealous exertions of the late secretary Mr. Hawtayne, afford one of the most pleasing spectacles of the kind which India offers, and have always done and still do ample justice to the patience, activity, and sound discretion of the missionaries who have been employed in them. They are now about to be transferred to the newly established committee of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, who have undertaken the charge in connexion with, and in aid of, Bishop's College. The committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge will thus be relieved from the most troublesome and expensive of their duties; but it is necessary to observe that a debt of 5000 sicca rupees still remains, incurred by the purchase and repair of the premises at Russipugla, which cannot be imposed on the new committee without sinking it, and which the old committee (to say nothing of the injustice of such a proceeding) is equally unable to support any longer. Under such circumstances, I trust that I am not presuming too far on the encouragement and hope of future support, afforded by Mr. Parker's letter just received, when I earnestly recommend the wants of both institutions to the munificent patronage of the parent societies, and solicit them to help us with the means of getting rid of a load, which so greatly impedes our usefulness.

"With regard to the munificent endowment of Bishop's College by the Society, I have to regret that neither Principal Mill nor myself were correctly informed as to the destination of the

sums which they remitted through Mr. Hamilton, and which it now appears were intended for the support of five students and one Tamul teacher. Of those sums the mere receipt was notified to us by the treasurer of the bank of Bengal, with the additional fact that Mr. Hamilton had directed him to invest them in government securities. We did not even know, till very recently, that they came from the bounty of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; but apprehended that they came from the sister society, and were applicable to the general purposes of the college, to meet the heavy and ruinous expenses of which they came as a most seasonable supply. This ignorance of ours, will, I trust, serve as my excuse for having drawn on the society, at Mr. Mill's request, for the maintenance of the young man (W. A. Godfrey) whom I had admitted on the foundation as a Middleton student. And the great poverty and serious embarrassments of the college will, I trust, also plead for it in discharge of the debt thus ignorantly contracted. It is, indeed, a truth which I am compelled to state, both in vindication of Principal Mill and myself, in order to show to the friends of Bishop's College the difficulties through which its infancy has struggled, and those which still continue to visit it; that had we not applied to its general wants, the interest of that money which it now appears, was intended for another and a definite purpose; had we not succeeded in raising subscriptions and donations in India, to the amount already of 24,000 sicca rupees; and had it not been for the munificent aid of the Church Missionary Society, from whom we have received since Bishop Middleton's death, three benefactions of 1000*l.* each, and had not the principal carried into effect a system of rigid and scrupulous economy in the internal arrangements of his college, to such a degree as to abstain from retaining the stated services of a medical practitioner; we should have found it impossible to carry on, not merely the additional works of printing house, offices, draining land, making roads, &c. (for which, though absolutely necessary to a collegiate establishment, Bishop Middleton had made no provision,) not merely the completion of those buildings which were contained in his estimate, but which have greatly exceeded it, but the actual business of the institution,

the tuition, food, and clothing of the few pupils who are as yet entered in the establishment. Of the great talents, the splendid liberality, and illustrious piety of Bishop Middleton, God forbid that I should ever speak without reverence. It is impossible to see what he has done, and what an impression he has left in India, without honouring him, and loving his memory as one of the best and wisest prelates whom the English Church can reckon among her worthies. But I may be allowed to say that, in the situation and style of building which he adopted, and other circumstances connected with his design, he appears to have derived his information from very incompetent sources, and that had his life been prolonged he would have encountered abundant mortification and disappointment on which he probably little calculated. Still the college which he has left behind, though it might have been more providently begun, is a beautiful monument of his taste and genius; and conducted as it is by Mr. Mill, who is never to be named without praise, it bids fair to confer more important advantages on India, than any thing which England has yet done for this most interesting part of her foreign empire. As such it cannot, I am persuaded, be the intention of those munificent societies and individuals who brought it into life, to abandon it to decay, or to suffer its energies to be cramped by the want of permanent support and encouragement; while, from the reasons which I have urged, it is, after all, to England chiefly that we are to look for any thing permanent.

"Of the scholarships which the society has founded at Bishop's College, I have filled up three; the first with W. Addison Godfrey, son of a respectable person in Madras; the second with C. Garstin, son of the Reverend Mr. Garstin, colonial chaplain in Ceylon; and the third with Charles Driberg, son of captain Driberg, of His Majesty's Cingalese regiment; all these youths were recommended by the archdeacon or acting archdeacon of their respective governments; and all seem at present to afford a favourable promise of becoming valuable missionaries hereafter. The Tamul teacher whom I have mentioned as expected, was recommended to me by Mr. Mooyart, a gentleman of much respectability in Ceylon; and the favourable opinion which he expressed was confirmed by the testimony

of other persons and by several of the young man's own letters, which were shown me, and which evinced much good sense, modesty, and Christian feeling, and a very remarkable familiarity with the English language. He is of the Tamul race, and has been employed for some short time in an inferior office under His Majesty's government at Batticoloa, of which canton his father is modeliar or native magistrate. Another youth of much promise, of the Cingalese race, is coming out, I trust, at the same time as exhibitioner, supported by the contributions of the principal Europeans in the island; and these are only two out of many of the best families and most promising talents which that island can show, who, if our means or the accommodations of the college had been competent to receive them, would have gladly come (some of them at their parents' own expense) to pursue their studies at Bishop's College.

"I have subjoined an account of the sums which I have drawn for and expended as almoner of the society, and from the fund entrusted to me by its bounty. On the different items I must beg leave to offer a few observations.

"The first was a donation to the metropolitan and clergy of the Syro-malayalim churches in Southern India, for the relief of their wants, and particularly to be applied, at the metropolitan's discretion, to the support of poor students in theology, in the college of Cotym. It was forwarded to and duly received by its objects, through the Rev. Messrs. Fenn and Bailey, missionaries in the employ of the Church Missionary Society, and exercising their functions in Travancore. As I had consulted the committee of the society, before my departure from England, on the propriety of extending a part of their bounty to this most interesting and venerable, though poor and depressed, church, I need say no more, than that I have abundant reason to know that its members, both clergy and laity, look up to the Church of England as their surest patron and friend on earth; and that the manner in which they continue to speak of my excellent predecessor, is most agreeable to those who value his worth, and most hopeful to all who anticipate their gradual reform from this increased approximation to Christians of a sounder doctrine, and a ritual less alloyed by superstition.

"Mr. Hawtayne, as secretary to the diocesan committee of the society, and superintendant of the schools under their management, had absolute need of the services of a moonshee, whose salary, as being employed in the service of the society alone, Bishop Middleton (as Mr. Hawtayne assured me) had been accustomed to defray from the sum entrusted by the society. In discharging this bill, therefore, I considered myself as both rendering an act of justice to a meritorious agent of the society, and as closely following the precedent set by Bishop Middleton.

"The Reverend Christian David, a pupil of Schwartz, and for many years a catechist in the employ of this society, having come to Calcutta to receive holy orders, to qualify for the situation of colonial Chaplain at Jaffna, (to which he had been nominated by His Majesty's government of that island,) was in considerable pecuniary difficulty, in part arising from the illness and death of one of his sons, and in part from the insufficiency of the allowance made him by the colonial government to meet the expenses of so long a journey. I ventured therefore to assist him with three hundred sicca rupees on account of the society.

"Of the great need which was felt by the committees of Calcutta and Bombay of the sums which I advanced to them, I have already spoken, and I trust that the urgency of the occasion will acquit me in the eyes of the society of an extravagant application of their fund.

"The same observation will apply to the two sums of 100*l.* each which I have applied to the necessities of Bishop's College; to which I will only add that, independently of the merits of the case, both these grants materially operated in giving spirit and effect to the subscriptions in favour of the college, which I collected at Bombay, and am now collecting in Calcutta.

"Of the two bishops, to each of whom I presented a viaticum of 30*l.*; the first is a person of much importance to the cause of Christianity in India, being the metropolitan sent, after a lapse of many years, but according to ancient custom,—by the Syrian patriarch of Antioch,—to take charge of the Malayalim Church. He arrived in Bombay while I was there, in his way to the coast of Malabar, and fully satisfied me of the cha-

racter with which he was invested, at the same time that he gave me a favourable impression of his good sense, candour, and modesty; and (in his attendance on divine service and the communion, according to our forms) an auspicious presage of his friendly dispositions to our church. I left him at Bombay, awaiting the opportunity of a passage to Cochin or Allepee, to facilitate which the donation which I have mentioned was much needed, and very thankfully received. I am now about to send him a letter, which my learned friends Principal Mill and Mr. Robinson are engaged in translating into Syriac; and I hope, by God's blessing, to see something more both of him and his flock, in my proposed visitation to the south of the Peninsula.

"Bishop Joseph is an Armenian, and one of the suffragans of the metropolitan church of Anapatz. He also fell in my way at Bombay, and has been himself in distress, and engaged in a long journey to solicit alms from a small, and by no means wealthy body of Christians, in behalf of a yet poorer, though a very numerous Christian community. I trust I was not wrong in esteeming him also a proper object of the society's bounty.

"The Rev. Mr. Christian was for a considerable time most faithfully and actively occupied in superintending a circle of the society's schools at Cossipoor, near Calcutta; and I have since removed him to a still more arduous and important field of duty, in preaching the Gospel to the mountaineers of Rajmahal. The grant of 250 sicca rupees, was to enable him to perform a missionary journey among those interesting tribes.

"The last item of 100*l.* is in aid of a chapel, designed to be built in one of the most populous parts of Calcutta, to be served by the different missionaries of the Church of England who may be stationed within reach, and where service is to be performed in the Bengalee and Hindoostanee languages, but according to the liturgy of our Church, and with all the usual and decent ornaments and adjuncts which our Church enjoins. From this measure, which is as yet untried in Calcutta, though it has succeeded admirably at Benares, Chunar, Meerut, and Agra, I anticipate a very powerful and advantageous effect on the native mind, extremely alive to what is graceful and decorous in external worship, and easily impressed by such language and sen-

timents as distinguish our noble liturgy. Nor are they the Heathen or the Mussulmans only who may profit by the institution. Of the nominal Christians among the lower orders in Calcutta, a great proportion know little of any language but Bengalee and Hindoostanee,—and many of these, who are avowed followers of the Church of Rome, though in fact they are so grossly ignorant and degenerate that they hardly know the name of Christ, might be drawn, it is hoped, by degrees, to attend a form of prayer, which, while its exterior ornaments would not disgust them by a too great departure from those to which they are accustomed, would convey its instructions to them in a tongue which they understand, and unite their hearts, as well as their lips and knees, in the praise of Him whom they now most ignorantly worship. With the grant which I have ventured to bestow on them, I have a good hope that a sufficient fund is already raised for the completion of the chapel.

"I have only to add, that should the society disapprove of any of these applications of their bounty, I shall most cheerfully replace the sum objected to; that I shall again have the honour of addressing a letter to them when I have visited their missions in the presidency of Madras; and that my earnest prayers are offered up for their continued prosperity and usefulness, and that the pleasure of the Most High may long be seen to prosper in their hands.

"I remain, Reverend and dear Sir,

"Your faithful and obedient servant,

"Reginald Calcutta."

To C. Lushington, Esq.

Chowringhee, Dec. 8, 1825.

"My Dear Sir,

"* * * I feel that I ought not to conclude my letter, without some offer of congratulation on your becoming chief secretary; though, I confess, if that event is to put a stop to the official relations in which we have stood to each other, I should be tempted to mingle regret on my own account, with the pleasure which I feel in every thing which contributes to

your advantage or extended usefulness. As wishing well to India, however, and as having had many opportunities of appreciating, not only your private worth, but your unwearied diligence and excellent talents for business, I wish you and the public joy with all my heart; and trust that your health may long be spared to enable you to serve your country in this, and more profitable stations than this; more important there can hardly be.

"Believe me, dear Sir,
"Sincerely your obliged friend,
"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

"I have had repeated and earnest applications from Sincapoor for clerical aid, which I only refrained from forwarding to government before, because I did not apprehend that they had it in their power, under present circumstances, to render any assistance, and had no desire to plague you needlessly."

To the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

Calcutta, Dec. 18, 1825.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"You will receive, together with this note, a copy of the 'Huft Kolzoom' or 'Seven Oceans,' a dictionary of the Hindoostanee and Persian languages, compiled by the present king of Oude, and printed at his own press at Lucknow. It is said to be a work of some merit, and is, at least, a novelty as coming from the pen of a royal author, and printed at his expense in a situation where even the existence of a printing press is a matter of some curiosity. As such I trust it may be thought not altogether unworthy of a place among the eastern treasures which our friend Knatchbull has added to All Souls' library.

"A learned friend of mine, Colonel Francklin, author of several works on the antiquities and geography of Hindoostan and Persia, has taken charge of it, and will have the honour of presenting this letter to your lordship on his visit to Oxford. He is a very estimable and gentlemanly old officer, and anxious to

become known to the literary circles of England. Any attention which your lordship may, without inconvenience, be able to show him, will be an additional favour conferred on,

"My dear Lord,

"Ever your obliged and faithful

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To N. Wallich, Esq. M. D.

Calcutta, Jan. 1826.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am most sincerely obliged, both on my own account, and that of the great and good man on whose behalf I applied to you, for your kind trouble in making up the precious collection of plants and seeds which you have specified. I apprehend that a desirable opportunity for sending them to Lord Grenville is likely to be afforded on the 21st of this month by the 'Minerva,' commanded by my friend Captain Probyn, to whom I will write immediately on the subject.

"I feel ashamed and grieved that I have not sooner sent you the inscription;* but I have really been very busy, and am now only beginning sufficiently to see any way through my papers, to be able to attend to topics of literature, or find time for original composition.

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Ever very truly your's,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

Soon after the bishop's return to Ceylon, the high caste Hindoo, whom Mr. Hawtayne had converted in 1823, and whose baptism in the same year is related in the bishop's journal,† received the sacrament, for the first time in the cathedral. This

* To the memory of William Jack, Esq., assistant surgeon on the Bengal establishment, which the bishop had, at Dr. Wallich's request, undertaken to write. Mr. Jack died at Bencoolen, whither he had accompanied Sir T. Stamford Raffles, in 1822.

† Bishop Heber's "Journal in India," vol. i. p. 65, octavo edition; vol. i. p. 66, duodecimo edition: Philadelphia.

man set an example of attachment to his new religion, which it might well become many of those who are born Christians to imitate. His family was respectable and affluent, but he himself was chiefly dependant on his friends for support; they used their utmost influence to induce him to renounce his faith, refused to hold any intercourse with him, and threatened to remove his means of subsistence. But, though suffering much from their persecution, he steadily resisted both threats and entreaties, and was, consequently, thrown in a great degree on the benevolence of Europeans for employment and support. His appearance at the altar was highly impressive; in the native dress, with the chuddah or muslin veil, worn by the better sort of Hindoos, almost concealing his face, he knelt alone, having waited till the last European had communicated. This man, at least, could not be accused of changing his religion on interested motives, inasmuch as obloquy from his countrymen was his worldly portion, and he had to sustain as well the tears and reproaches of his friends, as the derision and malice of his enemies.

In December of this year, the bishop admitted to episcopal ordination, together with several other candidates, Abdûl Musseeh, a convert of Archdeacon Corrie's, a man of family, and gifted with great zeal and very considerable attainments. He resolved on this measure after much deliberation; several persons, whose opinions he respected, remonstrated with him strongly against it;* but he was so deeply persuaded of the advantages which were likely to accrue from thus connecting this venerable convert (who had previously received Lutheran ordination) with the English episcopal church, that he was not diverted from his purpose. The short time which Abdûl Musseeh lived, proved that the views which the bishop had taken were correct; and his death, which happened in 1827, is a severe interruption to the progress of our religion among his

* These objections arose from the idea, that the re-ordination of Lutheran ministers was illegal and profane. The bishop, in a letter to the Rev. Deacon Schmidt, published at the conclusion of his Journal in India, (vol. ii. p. 322, octavo edition; vol. ii. p. 329, duodecimo edition: Philadelphia,) clearly and satisfactorily explains the views which he took of this important subject.

countrymen. The ordination ceremony was, in every point of view, solemn and affecting. The bishop read the service for Abdul Musseeh, who did not understand English, in Hindoostanee, with great fluency; and there were present near twenty clergymen, all kneeling round the altar, and assisting in the holy act. Father Abraham, the Armenian suffragan from the patriarch of Jerusalem, with the Armenian vicar of Calcutta, was present, dressed in the black robes of his convent; he sat at the bishop's right-hand during prayers, entered with him the communion-rails, and laid his hand with his on the heads of the candidates. After the ceremony was concluded, they embraced at the door of the church.

The bishop had always encouraged an intimacy with the Armenian clergy wherever he had met them, in the hope that this ancient, though long oppressed church, might derive much benefit from a close acquaintance with the forms and ritual of the English church. With Father Abraham he had had free intercourse, both at Dacca and at Bombay; an interchange of friendly visits had passed between them at Calcutta; and the Armenian gave a remarkable proof of the influence which the bishop had acquired over his mind, by requesting him to receive Mesrop David, a deacon in his church and a relation of his own, into Bishop's College, that he might be instructed in the language and literature of our country.

Early in 1826, the bishop, accompanied by Mr. Robinson, visited Chinsurah, about twenty miles from Calcutta, the station which, as has been mentioned, was ceded to England by the Dutch, and of which the spiritual concerns were placed by government in his hands. Mr. Morton, who was appointed to the mission, had been performing the duties for some months, and was living on terms of perfect amity with Mr. De La Croix, the Dutch missionary, who did not appear to entertain any jealous or hostile feelings towards the person who now occupied his situation in the mission. The bishop preached on the Sunday which he passed at Chinsurah, both morning and evening; and was occupied the following morning in looking over an old house, which had long been the abode of bats and snakes, for the purpose of deciding on its capability of forming a permanent resi-

dence for the clergyman, and for the establishment of a school. He here caught a fever, which confined him to his room several days after his return to Calcutta. There was one peculiarity attending this illness, which the editor would not have mentioned, but for the belief that it had some connexion with, and threw some light on the cause of the last fatal event at Trichinopoly. The affection of the head, with which a Bengal fever is invariably accompanied, produced so great a degree of deafness, that he could hardly hear the questions of the medical men who attended him. And this symptom did not immediately decrease as the fever abated. Soon after his recovery he sailed in the "Bussorah merchant" for Madras, where he arrived late in February.

To Captain Manning.

Off Kedgeree, Feb. 3, 1826.

"My Dear Manning,

"Many thanks for your friendly letter. I was sincerely sorry that I was not at home when you called, and that I was so busy that I had really no time to return your visit before I set off. We have since been detained by light and unfavourable winds in the river till this morning, when we have made some way, and hope to get rid of our pilot in the evening.

"I hope you are by this time quite well again, and am inclined to think that the severe discipline which you have undergone during your recent illness, may be of eventual advantage to your health. That it may be so, however, I hope you will, for your own and for Mrs. Manning's sake, as well as the many friends who love and value you, be more careful of yourself than you have been. I do not mean that you should be more *anxious*, for an over anxiety is, I think, the side on which you are apt to err; but that you should be more strictly abstemious than (forgive my saying so) I think you have lately been in your diet, and that you should wean your mind from a too careful and earnest attention to your own symptoms, both bodily and mental; learning to trust God more entirely and hopefully, that His providence and love for you in Jesus Christ, will do more,

far more, for you than you can do for yourself; and that if you cast your cares on Him, He *will* care for you!

"Excuse me, my amiable friend, for giving you these hints, which are prompted by a sincere regard for you, and an earnest desire that you may be both healthy and happy. But the truth is, I have observed, during my late stay in Calcutta, that you sometimes took more variety both in dishes and in wine than seemed to suit your health; that I have been led to fear, I hardly know why, that you have sometimes resorted to still more seductive and dangerous palliations of the pain which you have, I know, often suffered; and that I have been long aware, that, in the honest humbleness of your contrite heart, you have thought more painfully of your own condition, than one who cherishes a firm faith on the Rock of Ages, and an ardent desire after holiness need to do. Remember who He is on whom you have hoped. Be sure that both body and soul are safe under His protection so long as we wait patiently on Him, and resist the temptations against which we are compelled to struggle; and believe me, that while this hope continues to increase in you, both body and soul will derive a daily increase of strength and cheerfulness.

"God Almighty bless you, my dear Manning, in your worldly and spiritual affairs! May He grant you a safe and prosperous voyage, and a happy reunion with your wife; and may He grant me, if it be His will, to see you again in health and happiness on earth, or, if not there, in a blessed eternity!

"Believe me ever your sincere friend,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

On the Ganges below Calcutta, Feb. 3, 1826.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I addressed a letter to your lordship about a month ago, in which I introduced to your acquaintance and kind notice my friend Colonel Francklin, and requested permission to offer to the college library a copy of a Persian dictionary, lately published by the king of Oude, of which Colonel Francklin had

taken charge. An accident prevented my sending it at that time, and I thought it best afterwards, to wait for the sailing of the East India Company's own ship 'Thomas Grenville,' with whose commander, Captain Manning, I am on terms of intimacy, and can rely on his taking every care of the package. I have added to the 'Seven Oceans' a copy of the first half of the 'Shah Nameh,' 'Book of Kings,' of the Persian poet Ferdusi, which has some merit as a specimen of Indo-Persian calligraphy, and was given me by the Guicwar Rajah, by whose order the copy had been made, and who, notwithstanding its unfinished state, attached considerable value to it. Will your lordship have the kindness to offer both these works, in my name, to the library, and excuse the trouble which I give in addressing them to you, not being sure whether Berens yet holds the bursarial sceptre, which he wielded so long and so ably, or who may have succeeded him.

"I trust that long ere this reaches you Sir Edward Paget will have been restored to his family and friends. I had the pleasure to see him just before he set sail, in better health, I think, and certainly in better spirits than he had been for many months before. He is sincerely loved and respected in India; but it is to Ceylon that we must go to hear his praises most perfectly. During my stay in that island, I often wished that he and lady Harriet could have been present, invisible, to hear the manner in which they were both spoken of, and the interest felt by every body in their health and happiness.

"I am again embarked on my voyage to Madras, which presidency I have not yet visited. My purpose is, after a few weeks stay in the city itself, to make nearly the same tour which Bishop Middleton did in his first visitation, with the addition of Cannanore, Mysore, Bangalore, and Arcot. Even this will leave a vast track of the Deckan and Central India, as yet untraversed, for another year; but the necessity of completing my work before the rainy season makes this inevitable. As it is, my engagements in Calcutta have detained me considerably too late; and I have been again, to my great sorrow, obliged to leave my wife and children behind, the advanced season making it unsafe for them to march with me. I have, however,

the comfort of leaving them in good health. My own health has, with few exceptions, been as good in this country as it ever was in Europe.

"Believe me, my dear Lord,

"With much respect and regard,

"Sincerely your Lordship's obliged friend,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

"We are now at length in high spirits in Calcutta, after a period of severe political anxiety, on account of the capture of Bhurtpoor, and the expected peace with Ava. Good news was certainly very much wanted."

To the Reverend Anthony Hamilton, Secretary of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts.

Bussorah Merchant, Bay of Bengal, February 18, 1826.

"I enclose for the information of the incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a copy of the proceedings of the diocesan committee, which I have succeeded in forming in Calcutta for the same objects and on the same principles with that established in Bombay. To the amount of subscriptions and benefactions there stated, we must add a considerable collection after my sermon in St. John's cathedral, and some other sums not yet inserted in the list, amounting altogether to about 1,300 sicca rupees. Some distinguished individuals, too, who have promised us their support, have not yet stated the amount which they propose to bestow. And as I have addressed letters to all the chaplains and ordained missionaries in the presidency and its provinces, exhorting them to preach in the society's behalf; and have written also to every individual of wealth and influence whom I know, or to whom I could with any show of propriety, address myself, I trust that the gross sum may yet be considerably augmented. It is, however, to be observed, that, as the new committee has taken on itself the support of the schools established in the neighbourhood of Calcutta by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, very many of the

annual *subscriptions* announced in this list are the same which were previously devoted for that purpose; and that from *this* fund the college must look for no considerable supply, either for its future buildings or regular monthly expenses.

"I have deferred thus long transmitting this report to you, because I have been in anxious and daily expectation of important letters from Ceylon, both as to the progress and success of a similar institution which I set on foot in that island, during my visitation of it last year; and as to the time when we were to expect the arrival at Bishop's College of two native youths, of Tamulian and Cingalese extraction; the former of whom I had named to the vacant office of Tamul teacher, for which he is, in all ways, highly qualified; and the latter had been named by the governor, on my recommendation, as the first Cingalese exhibitioner on a fund to be raised by private subscription. Not yet, however, having received any communication on the subject, either from Sir Edward Barnes, or the acting archdeacon, Mr. Glenie, I am unwilling to lose the comparative leisure which I enjoy on shipboard, both to report the actual state of the college and its concerns, and to offer my acknowledgements for your letter, and the copies of the statutes received by the 'Java,' early in last month.

"Though neither the funds hitherto collected, considerable as they certainly are, nor any which I can reasonably hope to receive from Ceylon, or to raise in Madras, for which city I am now sailing, are sufficient to secure the permanent support, or, for any long time together, to cover the monthly expenses of the college, the supply which has been obtained is exceedingly cheering and seasonable; and even before the arrival of the 'Java,' the principal and I had been encouraged to begin the erection of the much wanted printing-house, and to take measures for the gradual completion of the stalls, windows, pavement, &c. of the Chapel. The former, which before I left Calcutta had risen considerably above its basement, will consist of a compositors' room, thirty feet by twenty; a press room fifty by twenty; two smaller rooms of twenty by fifteen, for the private office and sitting-room of the printer; and on the first floor a warehouse for paper over the compositor's room, and two

bed-rooms over the smaller rooms already mentioned. Its probable expense may be estimated at 20,000 sicca rupees, and I should apprehend that 7,000 more will be required to complete the chapel, and 3,000 for the remaining roads and other external arrangements, including domestic offices for the professors and their families. The monthly expenses of the college table and establishment, still seldom fall short, though managed on a very economical scale, of twelve or fifteen hundred sicca rupees, for which I need not repeat that the interest of the government securities, which only form its capital, are extremely and alarmingly inadequate. It must be remembered, however, that the same establishment which now serves for eight pupils, may, without any material increase of expense, serve for many more than the building will hold; that when we have once room for a tolerable printing establishment, the returns will go some way towards bearing our other expenses, while those expenses will be, of course, very greatly lessened when we have got rid of the swarm of workmen who now burthen us. It is, however, vexatious to observe how much greater all these expenses are found to be, than they were originally calculated, (such of them as had been ever calculated on at all,) and how much must yet be eventually done before the garden, pleasure-grounds, &c. of the college can be made of any use to the comfort and health of its inhabitants. I can only say that every estimate has been scrupulously examined and retrenched to its lowest necessary scale; and that some of the expenses, such as the necessity of repairing the roof of the chapel, which has been already attacked by white ants, are of a nature to which every building must, in this country, be exposed, and no more to be provided against than an earthquake or a hurricane.

"A report having reached me that the company's teak-forest, between the college and the botanic garden, was about to be cleared, and the ground applied to other purposes, I thought it highly desirable to petition government to grant the college about four acres which lie next to their premises. The soil is much of it a mere marsh, and the rest will require a good deal of expense to make it tolerable. But it is the only spot which can be turned into a kitchen garden, which is much wanted;

and even if this cannot be done, it will be of advantage, if we can obtain it, to keep off such possible erections (dock yards, manufactories, or brick kilns) as it might be our ill fortune to see there. I have as yet had no positive answer from government to my application.

"For the erection of the printing house and the other necessary works, we have employed a firm of builders and upholsterers in Calcutta of the names of Burn and Currie. They are men of good character, and reckoned moderate in their charges; but are not competent to do more than execute in a workmanlike manner the plans and designs entrusted to them, and for which, in this case, I am myself chiefly answerable.

"To Mr., now archdeacon, Hawtayne, the college is much indebted, for the zeal and assiduity with which he discharged the duties of honorary bursar, before my return to Calcutta.

"I announced, I believe, in my last letter to the society, the intended removal of their missionary, the Reverend Mr. Morton, from Tallygunge to the late Netherlandish colony of Chinsurah. I had the pleasure to find, on my return to Calcutta, that both Mr. Morton and Principal Mill, who, by my desire, accompanied him to his new station, had been extremely well received by the inhabitants, whether Dutch or English; and particularly by the gentlemen who exercised the supreme executive and judicial functions under the former government, (the honourable Mr. Overbeck and Mr. Herklotz.) and the Netherlandish missionary (the Reverend Mr. La Croix.) To the urbanity and kindness of the two former gentlemen, I was myself much indebted in a visit which I afterwards paid to the scene of Mr. Morton's labours, and in which I was abundantly gratified by his diligent and exemplary exertions under very severe domestic affliction, as well as by the harmony and right spirit displayed by a numerous congregation, and the prospect held out of abundant future usefulness in this important and increasing station.

"It has been necessary for the college to hire a small house for Mr. Morton, at the monthly rent of fifty sicca rupees. Government, indeed, offered him the use of a large and handsome house, with a considerable extent of land, about two miles from the church, on condition only that we should put it in repair. I

was at first led to regard it as a very desirable possession, having a noble hall which would have served as a place of worship, and a school for native children, with ample accommodation besides for two married missionaries. But after contracting a severe fever in exploring its damp and long unoccupied apartments, I was compelled to give up the idea, on learning from Messrs. Burn and Currie that they could not undertake to put it in habitable repair for less than 14,000 sicca rupees. The society's missionaries must, therefore, be content with apartments and schools of a more humble description.

"To assist Mr. Morton in his labours among the natives, I have engaged, on the behalf of the society the services of an Armenian named John Petrus, or Peters, who was formerly employed as a catechist, by the Baptists of Serampoor, but left their society several years ago. He speaks and reads English well, and is recommended to me as speaking and writing Bengalee with uncommon elegance and fluency. The aid of a catechist thus qualified was greatly wanted by Mr. Morton, who, besides his Netherlandish and English flock, and the education of a numerous and sickly family, is actively and most usefully employed on a dictionary of the Bengalee language, and who needed, therefore, some relief in the daily superintendance of schools, and the similar labours for which Chinsurah affords abundant room. I should have preferred, indeed, supplying him with a catechist from Bishop's College, but there were none whom the principal could recommend as yet fitted for such a situation. Mr. Peters is to receive a salary from the college of fifty sicca rupees per mensem; added to which, he has twenty rupees from government for acting as parish clerk. The church of Chinsurah is elegant, and has been fitted up by government since the transfer *ad normam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. Mr. Morton performs morning and evening service, and preaches twice on Sundays.

"Of Mr. Christian's exertions and prospects, I continue to receive very encouraging accounts, particularly from my learned and amiable friend Colonel Francklin, who not long since visited Calcutta from that part of the country. Mr. Christian had been engaged in a laborious journey among the Puharree tribes,

during which he was stated to have incurred several hardships, as well as some serious danger from tigers. He might have performed the same circuit with much greater comfort and security by accepting an invitation to join the party of Sir J. Stonehouse, collector of that district. But, in the modest and disinterested spirit which forms a conspicuous part of his character, he declined the offer, as apprehending that the bustle and parade attending an official progress would interfere with his means of obtaining access to the people, and with the lowly duties to which he has devoted himself.

"Mr. Tweddle now occupies the missionary house at Tallygunge, and inspects the circle of schools formerly under the care of Mr. Morton. I hope, however, to be soon enabled to remove him to a much more important sphere of action, in communicating a knowledge of Christianity to the Garrows, a numerous and very warlike race of barbarians, who inhabit the mountains between Assam and the eastern provinces of Bengal, and who appear to be of a similar stock with the Puharrees, among whom Mr. Christian labours. Like the Puharrees, they were long the terrour of the civilized inhabitants of the plain; and, more sanguinary as well as more powerful than they, resisted, till very lately, the power of the British government, and maintained many horrible customs, of which the most peculiar was the hoarding up in their houses, and using as a sort of current coin, the sculls of their enemies, in whose number all their lowland neighbours were included. The firmness and talents of Mr. Scott, the present political agent in Assam, have succeeded in weaning them from many of these abominations, and in reducing them to such a degree of subjection to government as renders it safe for a missionary to reside among them. They now, like Puharrees, are anxious to acquire the habits and arts of their conquerors; and, as being free from the prejudices of caste, appear to present a very favourable field for the labours of an active and judicious missionary. Mr. Scott has proposed to government the establishment of a school among them, which shall not only teach them a better religion, but a knowledge of the simpler arts, of agriculture and of medicine; and I have earnestly recommended Mr. Tweddle to government as a pro-

per person to preside over the institution, in preference to some Moravian missionaries whom Mr. Scott had requested them to send for.

"Had I many missionaries to choose from, I do not know that I could have selected one better qualified for this important and interesting work. Mr. Tweddle is a man of exceedingly good temper, of strong nerves and robust constitution, patient and diligent in the instruction of children, accustomed from his birth to agricultural pursuits, taking much interest in all which relates to them, and who has already paid some attention to the husbandry and vegetable productions of this climate. He has acquired a good knowledge of Bengalee, and made some progress in Shanscrit; and though, on going to the Garrows he will have to learn a new language, he will, doubtless, receive every assistance from the moonshees of Mr. Scott, in his intercourse with whom the knowledge which he has already gained will be most useful. I have also been enabled to recommend a very good young man to government, who is well qualified to conduct the medical part of the institution, and I am anxiously expecting to receive their determination on the subject.

"To succeed Mr. Tweddle at Tallygunge, Mr. De Melho will, I hope, ere long, be in some degree qualified. The country, indeed, round Calcutta, though very great good has been done in communicating knowledge to a number of children, has, from the first, been so unproductive in conversions, that I am inclined to regard it as one of the least promising fields of missionary labour in India. And though I would by no means neglect the schools which we have already established, I should hesitate in forming more, except in the immediate neighbourhood of Bishop's College. Nor should I, for a moment, allow it to enter into competition with such opportunities as Providence seems opening to us in other parts of India, where Europeans are less known, and the degrading habits of our lower ranks have less exerted their unhappy influence.

"Mr. De Melho arrived in the 'Java,' with the senior and junior professors of Bishop's College, and their ladies, early in last month, after a very tedious and distressing voyage, but all in good health. The professors have now taken possession of

their respective apartments, and assumed their functions: an event which has been most gratifying both to myself and the principal, though, in the first instance, their ignorance of the language will prevent their being so great a relief to him as they soon may be expected to become. Mr. De Melho is also accommodated in the college, in the room which Bishop Middleton designed for the college records and muniments, the apartments appropriated for missionaries, being more than filled by the printer and his presses. There are at present seven foundation students. There is also a non-foundation student, supported by the Church Missionary Society, and a young Armenian deacon, Mesrop David, of whose admission as an inmate of the college, I shall shortly state the occasion.

"It is well known to the Incorporated Society, that there is a considerable and rather wealthy population of Armenian Christians scattered through all the mercantile cities of the East, and in general, very advantageously distinguished by their industry, sobriety, punctual dealing, and attachment, even in Mahommedan and Heathen countries, to the religion of their forefathers. To supply the spiritual wants of these scattered communities, and to collect from them the alms by which the mother churches in their own country and at Jerusalem are, in a great degree, supported, the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Ecmiazin send round, from time to time, some of their suffragan bishops, and even archbishops, with commissions and characters not very unlike the 'nuntii' of the court of Rome. It may be observed, indeed, that these prelates have seldom more than a titular connexion with any particular flocks, but constitute a sort of 'sacred college,' in attendance on their respective patriarchs, or employed as their agents in other scenes of action. The machinery, indeed, and titles of each patriarchate offer a striking resemblance in miniature to the court of Rome; though these eastern patriarchates are guiltless of that exorbitant and anti Christian assumption of power, which the rudeness of the western church encouraged the bishops of Rome to venture on.

"Of these itinerant bishops I met with three, while I was myself an itinerant, in different parts of India, and have always been glad to render them any hospitality or trifling services in

my power. Those whom I met had the appearance and reputation of holy and humble men, extremely well disposed, as is the case with the majority of their clergy and laity, to think favourably of the doctrine and ritual of the English Church. With one of them, Mar Abraham, a suffragan of the patriarch of Jerusalem, whom I had known at Dacca, and now met again on my return to Calcutta, I have had several opportunities of friendly intercourse. He frequently visited at my house and at Bishop's College; he attended service in the cathedral, and assisted, with myself and my clergy, in an ordination of priests, on which occasion I gave him a seat at my right hand, and treated him, as I had previously done the Syrian metropolitan whom I met at Bombay, with the respect due to his apostolic character. My object has been in this, as in every other instance of intercourse with the eastern Christians, to acquire that sort of influence with them which may tend to their good, convincing them that the Church of England neither claims nor desires any pre-eminence or jurisdiction over them, and that we are only anxious to be the means of reviving learning and scriptural knowledge among their clergy, and increasing, in a spirit of brotherly good will, their usefulness and respectability.

"Mar Abraham, I have reason to hope, was fully convinced of my sincerity. He appeared much pleased and impressed with our ordination service and other parts of our liturgy, which one of his flock translated for him. He complained, on more than one occasion, of the injury which their own forms had sustained by the interpolation of the Church of Rome, through which almost all the theological literature which his nation preserves, has unfortunately long been filtered. He wrote, of his own accord, a strong letter to the new Syrian metropolitan of the Malayalim, exhorting him to shun the snares of the Romish Church, and to place confidence in our offered good will; he readily became the bearer of a proposal from me to his patriarch, for printing Armenian ecclesiastical works at Bishop's College, instead of at Venice; and he gave a still stronger proof of his confidence, in requesting me, on his departure for Jerusalem, to take charge of a fine young man, a relation of his own, and a deacon in attendance on him, in order that he might receive some education

at Bishop's College, in the English language, and more generally in western literature. He stated as a motive for this request, that his Church had long been anxious to obtain a more enlarged education for her clergy, and had long felt the inconvenience of deriving it through Rome and Venice; that Mesrop David, being a young man of good abilities and with good friends, was likely to rise to considerable rank in the Church of Jerusalem; and that, to that Church, the knowledge which he might obtain among us would probably be an essential advantage. He offered, at the same time, to pay for his board, but well knowing his poverty, I assured him that was needless.

"On communicating what had passed to the principal and the college council, I had the satisfaction to find that they fully agreed with me in the importance of the advantages which might follow to the general cause of Christianity in the east, from such an opening, and in the propriety of doing every thing in our power to encourage the favourable dispositions of those who were thus willing to draw near us and to learn from us. The main difficulty which occurred was want of room; but this was overcome by partitioning off from the place where Mr. Townshend keeps his paper, a cell, which though not large, is tolerably good, and better, as the young man himself observed, than the apartment which he had been accustomed to occupy on Mount Sion.

"I am sensible, however, that the statutes by no means authorize our entertainment of such a guest, since he is neither a missionary employed by the Incorporated Society, nor even a member of the English Church. With regard, however, to the latter objection, it is a well known fact in India, that Bishop Middleton originally contemplated the possibility of the Malayalim students in divinity, (whose creeds and ritual are precisely the same with the Armenian,) availing themselves of his college. And I believe I may appeal to my friend the late archdeacon of Bombay, who accompanied Bishop Middleton in his visit to Travancore, whether he did not actually make the proposal to the metropolitan Mar Dionysius, who declined it on the ground that the Malayalim could not bear to leave their native mountains. But that the precedent (which I shall take care to make

sufficiently known) of an Armenian clergyman studying with us, will have a strong tendency to make even the Malayalim youth desirous of the same advantages, I have not the smallest doubt, any more than that it is the point most to be desired for the honour of the English Church, and the general interests of Christianity, that these Asiatic Churches should be encouraged by all fair and Christian means to avail themselves of our institutions and to join in our worship.

"On these grounds it is my request that the society would sanction the college council, by and with the special concurrence of the visiter, to admit as *foundation scholars*, not more than two students in divinity, being members of foreign episcopal Churches not in subordination to the see of Rome, and being ready to conform to the statutes and public worship of the college, without requiring from such persons, or on their behalf, the declaration that they have been 'grounded in the doctrines of the Church of England;' such foundation scholars to be distinguished from the rest by the name of 'foreign ecclesiastical students.' Such students to be admissible at any age above sixteen, which may seem to the visiter and college council not inconsistent with the purposes of Bishop's College; but not to be admissible at an earlier age than sixteen, nor to remain in the college a longer time than three years, or till they shall have completed their twenty-second year. Provided always that such foreign students shall not be eligible as catechists or missionaries in the employ of the Incorporated Society; that neither the college nor society shall be at any charge concerning them after the period of their education is completed, or in case it shall be found necessary to expel, or otherwise remove them from the college; and that the visiter shall specially report every case of such student's admission, within three months after, to the society, stating his name, nation, sect, and age, (so far as it can be ascertained,) as well as all the circumstances under which he has judged it expedient to admit him. The place and manner of the lodging, dress, diet, &c. of such foreign students, to be determined by the college council, with the concurrence of the visiter, with due reference to their age and previous habits.

"I have also to request that, should this proposal seem proper to the society, they will confirm the appointment, by the college council and visiter, of Mesrop David to the first of these studentships. At all events, it is my earnest hope that he may be allowed to remain as a non-foundation scholar; in which case I will myself pay any sum for his board which the college council may think reasonable.

"There is yet another point connected with the Church of Armenia, in which I have to request the munificent assistance of the society. I have already mentioned the chance of a preference being given to the college press for the publication of the liturgies and other religious books employed by that Church. And I have to add that, in order to gratify the increasing curiosity and interest respecting us which has been excited among his nation, a young Armenian named Johannes Avdall, resident in Calcutta, and a very good English scholar, has proposed, if encouraged by us, to undertake a translation of our liturgy, with a short account prefixed of the Church of England, its origin and reformation, which I purpose to draw up, if God gives me health and opportunity, in the course of my present journey. Should this beginning appear to produce a good effect, it may be followed up by other measures of the same kind, both in Armenian and in the other languages of Asia. For the Asiatic Churches our homilies are admirably calculated; and a still stronger effect may perhaps be produced among them by a judicious selection from the works of SS. Chrysostom, Basil, Ephrem, Gregory of Nazianzen, and the other ecclesiastical writers whom the eastern churches most reverence; though, unfortunately, at present they know little more of them than their names, and what pass for their pictures. To enable us to pursue these plans, we shall, however, need the aid of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to whom I shall write as soon as our measures are somewhat more matured; and we shall also need a good set of Armenian types, which we can get struck very neatly in Calcutta, and probably with greater accuracy, and at no more expense than they can be furnished in London or Paris. I say with greater accuracy, because we have here Armenian scholars on the spot to superintend the

work, and because Principal Mill himself, who has kindly promised to pay particular attention to the studies of Mesrop David, has some thoughts of adding Armenian to the many languages of which he is already master. It is therefore my request, on behalf of the college, that we may be authorized to purchase the types in question.

"I have already stated that I am expecting from Ceylon a Tamul teacher on the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and a Cingalese youth, who is also to act as teacher of his native language, and who is to be supported as an exhibitioner or new foundation student, by the archidiaconal committee of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which I established during my visitation of that island. The foundation of this committee was a grant of three hundred pounds which, at each visitation, the munificence of his majesty's government places at the disposal of the bishop for religious and charitable purposes connected with the island. This sum, under the circumstances of the case, I did not think myself warranted in applying immediately to the wants of Bishop's College; but I conceived that both Bishop's College would be materially assisted, and an immediate and obvious benefit conferred on the colony, if a fund could be raised and secured on landed property within the island, for the maintenance at Bishop's College of a native Cingalese youth, who, while he should be qualifying himself for holy orders as one of his majesty's colonial chaplains, should also act as teacher of the Cingalese language to such foundation students as might be destined to supply the missions in that country. His excellency the governor very cordially entered into these views, and a meeting was held under his auspices in the king's house, Colombo, the subscriptions at which, together with the collection made after my sermon, and the three hundred pounds already mentioned, amounted to above six hundred pounds, no inconsiderable sum to be raised at so short a notice and in so poor a colony, and which I yet hope to hear, on my arrival at Madras, has been greatly increased by the contributions expected from Jaffna, Trincomalee, &c. Even then it was more than sufficient, at the usual rate of interest in the colony, when put out at mortgage, to bear the expenses of the proposed exhibitioner.

"It is necessary to state, however, that I soon found (as if in confirmation of the opinion which I expressed to the society in my comments on their statutes) that few people were disposed to found studentships, the patronage of which was to be vested in another. And it was urged, with reason, by the governor, that as the object was to promote colonial chaplains, the government who paid those chaplains had an equitable right to select the youths whom it was proposed to educate for that purpose. I agreed, therefore, that the choice should rest permanently with the governor, subject to the approbation of the college council and visiter, and according to the rules of elegibility laid down in the statutes. I could find no better way of promoting an object which I have greatly at heart, and to which, during my stay in Ceylon, my measures were chiefly directed, the raising up by degrees a body of well-educated parochial clergy among the Cingalese and Tamul Christians of that most interesting part of my diocese. I trust, therefore, that the incorporated Society will sanction what I have done, as, if not strictly statutable, yet consonant to the spirit of our institutions, and as what could not have been differently arranged without endangering the success of the whole measure, and at once depriving Bishop's College of a useful inmate, and the episcopal church in Ceylon of a great probable advantage.

"It is proper to add that I then knew nothing of the sanction given by the colonial secretary to the government of Ceylon, to support a certain number of non-foundation students at the college. Nor, indeed, if I had done so, would it have materially altered my measures, since it is only necessary to witness the present state, compared with the possible future hopes of the native ecclesiastical establishment of Ceylon, to be convinced that not one or two, but four or six such students (if we could obtain maintenance for them) will be no more than are exceedingly desirable.

"I have to thank the society for the corrected and authenticated copy of the statutes, which has been deposited, with due care, in the archives of Bishop's College. I have also to thank them for the obliging manner in which they have, in many instances, adopted the alterations which I suggested; and,

above all, I have to thank them for the gratifying confidence reposed in the bishop of Calcutta, and which authorises him, as visiter, to propose, in cases of exigency, any fresh provisions or regulations consistent with the general principles on which the college is founded. Of such a privilege, I entreat them to believe that I am far removed from desiring to make any other than a very cautious and infrequent use. But the absolute necessity of some discretionary power will be apparent to every one who observes, how impossible it must be to provide beforehand, and at the distance of 15,000 miles, for all the possible contingencies of a country and state of society so different, in many respects from all which the Christian Church has seen; when every year has hitherto opened to us some new and unexpected field of exertion; and where not only Bishop's College, but the See of Calcutta itself, can thus far be regarded as no more than great and progressive experiments. Of this fact the two circumstances of Mesrop David, and the Cingalese exhibition, are, themselves, sufficient evidence, since I had, certainly, no idea, when I first addressed the society from this country, of the degree in which Bishop's College might be made available to the revival of the ancient Asiatic Churches, or of the materials and facilities afforded in Ceylon for raising up a native parochial clergy.

"I am anxious to learn what number of scholarships the society purposes to reserve in its own hands, and supply, from its schools in England, in order that, now the college is complete, and furnished with its full machinery of professors and teachers, I may fill up, with the advice of my archdeacons, the remaining vacancies of the foundation.

"For these there are abundant and promising candidates. From Ceylon, alone, the number might have been more than made up with native Christian youths, well-born, well-mannered, and well-educated in the principles of religion, and of the English grammar, by my valued friend the Reverend Mr. Armour, and, in every respect, answering to the description of persons from whom it is adviseable to supply the missions of the south of Coromandel, and of Candy. At the Calcutta grammar-school, an institution much favoured by my distinguished

predecessor, are two exhibitions expressly supported by some wealthy and benevolent individuals of the mixed or Indo-Briton stock, in the hope that the youths who hold them may become qualified to obtain scholarships on your foundation; and from all which I have heard of Vepery and the south, I conceive that in those provinces likewise the difficulty will be in selection only.

"Nor should it be forgotten, that though the present fabric is really able to contain, with health and moderate comfort, but a small number of pupils, yet it will be for the interest of the incorporated society, as it will undoubtedly be for the probable interest of sound religion, and Christian civilization in the east, not only that the numbers of their own foundation should be complete, but that every assistance should be courted by every fair means, from other friendly quarters, to increase the number of students, even though a considerable increase of buildings should be found, as it doubtless will be found, indispensable. The chief annual expense of the college to the incorporated society, is the payment of the professors' salaries. The most costly part, by far (more costly than all the others put together) of its buildings, have been the hall, the library, the college chapel, and the printer's establishment. We have, or shall have, all these on a scale which would do no discredit to a European university. We have three professors, four native teachers, (perhaps five,) and we have seven foundation, and one non-foundation student. The establishment which your society has furnished is abundantly sufficient for forty; and if we had any thing like that number, the endowments or monthly payments of each particular student would far more than make up for the increased expense which his diet and clothing would bring on us; while the college would present a spectacle illustrious to Asia and to the world; and the talent and distinguished learning of the professors whom you have sent out would make themselves felt in their effects, I will not say from the Indus to the Ganges, but, as appearances now indicate, from Jerusalem to the furthest limits to which British arms, or commerce, or enterprise have made the east accessible to us.

"I must not, however, go on too fast in such pleasing antici-

pations, since, with every increase of the number of foundation students which should be courted or accepted by us, there are some circumstances which must always be taken into account, without which we shall be only treasuring up disappointment to ourselves and the Christian world. Whoever founds a scholarship, should be prepared also to support, at least, a catechist or a missionary. Without this precaution, and unless the college has some security that its pupils when properly qualified, will find employ and support, we shall have the lamentable spectacle of youths growing past their best in monkish idleness within our walls; or, what is still worse, and more painful, be compelled to thrust out to want many promising pupils, for whom, when their education is completed, we have neither employment nor harbour. The allowance of a catechist cannot be less than a hundred sicca rupees per mensem. That made by the society to their missions, is, I really think, sufficient, excepting that, in every instance, we have as yet found it absolutely necessary, if we could not furnish them with a residence, to pay their house-rent. With native missionaries, however, a far less allowance would be sufficient, and of such, in future, I should, on many accounts, prefer the selection. In the case of non-foundation students, the college has no responsibility of the kind; and of these, whether native, European, or country born, I sincerely hope to see a gradual increase of numbers.

"I conclude that I am to continue to draw on the society in England, for the allowances of fifty pounds yearly for each of the students on their foundation at Bishop's College. From what I have already observed they will be aware that this sum, at present, falls short of the expense; but that as the number increases, it will become more nearly adequate. I conclude also, as the society has no assets in Bengal, except the money appropriated to the Middleton scholarships, I must also depend on England for the maintenance of the catechist whom we shall shortly be prepared to send (where his aid is much needed) to Mr. Christian at Boglipoor.

"I have omitted to state that the three professors have, with my entire approbation, gratuitously undertaken the service of the East India Company's chapel at Howrah, situated immediately

opposite to Calcutta, which by the departure of Archdeacon Hawtayne, was left without a clergyman, and to which government are unable at present to assign a resident chaplain. They have thus kept together a respectable and highly interesting congregation, of which the greater part would have been else scattered among different sectaries, while the duties which they have undertaken, can in no degree interfere with their more appropriate duties in Bishop's College.

"They have also, with my approbation made an arrangement with Dr. Stewart, the staff surgeon at Howrah, to give his professional attendance to the college, and (I am happy to add) to instruct the elder students, at their leisure hours, in surgery and pharmacy. It gives me also pleasure to state that government have, at my request, authorised the members and inmates of the college to obtain medicines gratis, from the public dispensary.

"I remain, dear Sir,

"With every good wish for the continual welfare of the society,

"Your very faithful and obedient servant,

"Reginald Calcutta."

"*Madras, March* 2.—I have found, since my arrival in this city, that, both here and in other parts of Southern India, where the Armenians are numerous, they have recourse, where they have not access to the ministry of their own clergy, to that of our church; on which, indeed, some of the most opulent and respectable are, at all times, regular attendants. These Armenians, who constitute the bulk of the nation, are called by the clergyman who informed me of the fact, (the Rev. Mr. Roy,) 'Protestant Armenians,' and are themselves fond of the name."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Extracts from Archdeacon Robinson's publication—Dissensions among the Syrian Bishops—Kindness of Sir T. Munro—Station of Vepery—Poonamalee—Observation of caste—Church at Madras. 1826.

THE following extracts are, with the author's permission, taken from a work which has lately appeared, entitled, "The last days of Bishop Heber," written by Mr. Robinson, the present archdeacon of Madras.

"*February 2d. Ship Bussorah Merchant.*—We joined the ship this morning, I fear with the prospect of a long voyage to Madras. * * * *

"*February 3d.*—Our progress is very slow down the river, but it enables us to get acquainted with the passengers, and arrange every thing with greater comfort before the voyage begins. The bishop came into my cabin after breakfast, and said he found that, besides the European crew, there was a detachment of invalid soldiers on board returning to England, probably in a very ignorant and demoralized state, after their long residence in this country; and that he thought we might be exceedingly useful to them in the course of the voyage. He proposed therefore that we should go down alternately every morning to instruct them and pray with them. I begged him not to interrupt his own more important avocations for these lower duties, which I would gladly undertake alone, if he would commission me to do so; but he would by no means consent to relinquish his share in them. 'I have too little,' said he, 'in my situation, of these pastoral duties which are so useful to the minister as well as to his people; and I am delighted at the opportunity thus unex-

pectedly afforded me :—it will remind me of dear Hodnet. Besides, it is possible that the very circumstance of my going down may impress them more strongly, and incline them more to listen to us both.' He had his prayer book in his hand, and after speaking to the commanding officer went below immediately. Is not this worthy of a bishop? What inexpressible dignity do such simple labours add to his high and sacred office! We had family prayers in the cuddy after tea, which will be continued during the voyage. I need not tell you that all the passengers gladly assented to the proposal. What is there that he could ask that they would not assent to? for all are delighted, even on this short acquaintance, with the life and variety of his conversation and the gentleness of his manners.

"*February 4th.*—On going down to the poor soldiers this morning, I found the effect of the bishop's visit yesterday to be just what might have been expected. His kindness and condescension have prepared them to receive with thankfulness all that is said to them; and before I began to read, they could not help saying, as they collected round me, 'only think of such a great man as the bishop coming between decks to pray with such poor fellows as we are!' Who can tell what good may result from these humble efforts?—greater perhaps than from his more public and splendid labours, which are followed by the admiration of the world. These are unseen and unknown; * * but *his Father which seeth in secret himself shall reward him openly.*

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"*February 5th, Sunday.*—The pilot left us at mid-day, and the ship was in too much confusion to have service on deck in the morning: the bishop preached to the men below. This evening we had prayers in the cuddy, the whole crew standing on the outside, and the bishop preached an excellent plain sermon on 'the parable of the sower.'

"*February 6th.*—I was sitting reading in my cabin this morning, when the bishop came in and showed me an interesting letter he has lately received, and which has much affected him, giving him an account of the last hours of a friend of his, of high genius and talent, who for twenty years, from the time when he

first entered the church, has been laid by from all public duty by asthma, and thus confined almost entirely to the bosom of his own family. By this painful and (as he himself thought) necessary discipline his spirit was purified and prepared for heaven. The bishop says he was often struck with the strong influence of religion which his example and conversation diffused through every branch of the noble family to which he belonged. I went down and preached to the men as usual this morning, and one of them who had been in the hospital at Meerut, when the bishop was there last year, requested me to ask his lordship to confirm him, if it could be done on board. He seems a well disposed man, and the Bishop has consented to do it on Sunday next if he finds him prepared. It will probably be the first time the ordinance was ever administered in a ship.

"The bishop is busily employed re-writing his charge for Madras. After delivering it there it will be printed; but not till he has gone through the south, and is able to speak of the success of missionary labours from his own knowledge. He means to add notes, containing much valuable information of that kind, and which from *him* will come with weight and authority. He asked me to-night if I thought he ought to publish as much as he had written in answer to the Abbe Dubois. I told him, certainly; that the Abbe's work had done much harm in a large circle, and that though others had answered him, a 'blow from his great hammer was still wanted.' He was kind enough to say he would show the manuscript before it went to press. He says the report given of it in the Calcutta papers was so accurately and well done, that his friends concluded at home he had already published it, and quarrelled with him for not sending them copies; and that he had been much affected by the last letter which he had received from his aged mother, who on reading the extracts in the newspapers, writes to him that she understands the tenderness of his motive in not sending her a copy, lest he should alarm her fears by his mention of the climate, as one '*where labour is often death.*'

"*February* 11*th.*—This has been a day of great sorrow on board to a poor mother who is mourning over her infant child, and a scene of instruction to us all. The lady in the opposite

cabin to mine, in very weak health herself, is going to England, taking with her a sickly infant of two months old, and leaving her husband in Calcutta. It was seized with convulsions this morning, and after lingering through the day, has just breathed its last sigh. The bishop has been repeatedly in the cabin, comforting and praying with her; and in the intervals I hear him weeping and praying for her in his own. I have never seen such tenderness, never such humble exercise of Christian love. Alas! how his spirit shames us all! I thank God that I have seen his tears, that I have heard his prayers, his conversation with the afflicted mother, and his own private reflections on it. It has made me love him more, and has given me a lesson of tenderness in visiting the afflicted that I trust will not be in vain. I did not do him justice. I did not think he was more fitted (as he really is) for the sick room and the dying bed, than the crowded audience and the theatre of the world.

"*February 12th.*—We committed the poor baby's body to the deep at sun rise, and the bishop read the service himself. The afflicted mother is very ill, and seems very grateful for his kind attentions. It is a solemn service; but how full of peace is the death of a little innocent, and what unspeakable consolation to a parent's heart, that there is no shade of doubt as to its eternal state, that 'of such is the kingdom of heaven!' We had prayers on deck as usual, and the bishop preached on 'the good shepherd.' I spent two hours in his cabin after the service in very interesting conversation on the subject of angels, and the several emblematic visions of St. John, Ezekiel, and Isaiah. This evening he has spent chiefly in the cabin of the poor bereaved mother; and while she was bitterly lamenting her loss, instead of checking her expressions of impatience, and *prescribing* to her the duty of submission, he told her the following beautiful apologue, as one with which he had himself been much affected.—'A shepherd was mourning over the death of his favourite child, and in the passionate and rebellious feeling of his heart was bitterly complaining that what he loved most tenderly, and was in itself most lovely, had been taken from him. Suddenly a stranger, of grave and venerable appearance, stood before him, and beckoned him forth into the field. It was night,

and not a word was spoken till they arrived at the fold, when the stranger thus addressed him :—"When you select one of these lambs from the flock, you choose the best and most beautiful among them. Why should you murmur because I, the good Shepherd of the sheep have selected from those which you have nourished for me, the one that was most fitted for my eternal fold?" The mysterious stranger was seen no more, and the father's heart was comforted.'

"*February 25th.*—We anchored in Madras Roads this morning, and left the ship in an accommodation boat, which the beach master had sent to convey the bishop on shore. The manner in which all persons on board, the crew as well as the passengers and invalids took their leave of the bishop, showed how much he had endeared himself to them in the course of the voyage; and as the ship will probably be detained here a week, he has invited the lady who has already been so much indebted to his kindness in her affliction, to spend that time with us, promising to send a carriage for her in the evening, when he had ascertained what apartments he had it in his power to offer her. He was much amused with the uncouth and primitive structure of the boat, which, he said, might well pass for the gig of Noah's ark, its lofty sides, the high raised benches of the rowers, and the noisy, but not unmusical song with which they accompanied their oars, as they conveyed us through the surf, which happened to be much more quiet than usual."*

Had the bishop's voyage to Madras taken place in December, according to his original plan, he would have been accompanied by his family; and even late as it was he had intended taking them to the Nielghurry hills to remain during his visitation of the southern missions; but Sir Thomas Munro had informed him that no accommodations could be procured on those mountains, unless houses were built on purpose, and for this there was not sufficient time. To take his children through those provinces at so late a season, he was assured by all who were acquainted with the climate, would be highly dangerous, and

* Last days of Bishop Heber, p. 86—88. p. 90—96.

many, alas! unavailingly urged him, on his own account, to delay his journey till the next cold season. But, although he would not expose his family to this risk, he resolved on incurring it himself rather than defer the interests of so important a part of the diocese to some future opportunity. There was much, indeed, which required the exercise of his judgment, discretion, and powers of conciliation, in that presidency; though when he left Calcutta he was ignorant of the storm raised in the Syrian church, by the opposition made to the claims of the new metropolitan, Mar Athanasius, by the bishops Philoxenus and Dionysius, which was much augmented by his own violent conduct.

The bishop had met Athanasius at Bombay, when on his way to the Malabar coast with letters from the patriarch of Antioch, and had treated him with the same brotherly kindness which he had always shown towards the heads of the various Christian Churches in the east; he had supplied him with money to prosecute his voyage, and given him letters to some of the principal Europeans on the coast. On his arrival at Madras, he heard with pain of the dissensions which his appearance had occasioned in that venerable church, and which had been much increased by the unfortunate detention of a letter which the bishop had written to Athanasius, and given to the care of Mr. Doran, one of the Madras missionaries. This letter was again forwarded by other hands, but it was never delivered to Mar Athanasius, although it reached Travancore some days before he was banished the country, and might, also have been sent after him to Quilon, where he was detained for several days, waiting for a ship.

This transaction is related at some length in the Appendix to the bishop's Journal, and requires no further explanation. Mar Athanasius must have left India in great bitterness of spirit; he could not but suppose that the bishop's (apparent) silence proceeded either from forgetfulness of the promise of protection given him at Bombay, or from an intention of taking a decided part with his opponents. The editor hoped that Mr. Robinson's letter to the patriarch of Antioch, which is published with her

husband's journal,* would have placed the business in its true light; but that letter seems not to have been received, and a report was prevalent in Madras, in 1829, that Athanasius had been shipwrecked on his return to Syria.

The kindness with which the bishop was received by Sir Thomas Munro, and by all the members of the Madras government, has been recorded by himself in his Journal; but the editor cannot refrain from alluding to it here with the warmest feelings of gratitude, accompanied with deep regret that this excellent man was not permitted to return to his family, and to his native land.†

With his accustomed indifference to personal comforts, the bishop had only applied for the services of a native doctor on his visitation, in case of illness among his escort and servants; but the government not only appointed Mr. Hyne, one of the best surgeons on the Madras establishment to attend him, but commissioned Captain Harkness, who had the command of the escort, to provide other medical assistance, should Mr. Hyne be himself taken ill. Colonel Taylor, the town-major, provided a sufficient number of tents, elephants, &c. to ensure him as much comfort in the journey as the heat of the weather would admit; and every precaution which kindness and forethought could command for his safety was taken; but with all this, a feeling prophetic of the fatal event seems to have existed in Sir Thomas Munro's mind; for he more than once expressed an earnest wish that "the bishop's visitation might end well."

The Madras male and female orphan schools attracted much of the bishop's attention. It was in the former of these institutions that Dr. Bell first became acquainted with the plan for education, which, under his name, has been so generally adopted in England. The bishop examined many of the boys, and wrote to the editor of the pleasure which he had received from witnessing the progress they were making, and from seeing their

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* Bishop Heber's "Journal in India," Vol. II. p. 364, 8vo. edit. Vol. II. p. 372, 12mo. edit. Philad.

† Sir Thomas Munro died of cholera morbus on the 6th of July, 1827, when he was on the point of leaving India.

happy and healthy appearance.* On the same day he held a confirmation, when nearly five hundred persons received the sacred rite, a number far greater than any which he had previously seen, at the same time, in India.

During his short residence at Madras, the bishop visited the establishment of the Christian Knowledge Society at Vepery, and examined all the schools connected with the institution. The native schools especially excited his admiration, and he mentioned them with warm praise to the editor, in a letter published in the "Correspondence," at the conclusion of his Journal.† "He was delighted with the new church, a beautiful building of simple gothic, the only church of that style in India, and he shook hands with Mr. Law the architect, complimenting him on the ingenuity and skill, which, without ever having seen any specimen of Gothic architecture, had achieved so much under so many disadvantages. His own skilful eye and classical taste, which has been formed on the purest models of the art, detected some few violations of propriety, particularly in the western door and the ornaments of the eastern window; but these suggestions only increased the value of his general admiration of this really beautiful and noble structure. He was particularly struck with the good taste which, by placing the

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* The report made of the state of these schools for the year 1826, concludes with the following paragraph:

"But amidst these subjects for gratulation as well as thankfulness, there is one circumstance, which, while it overcasts some of the bright prospects of these charities, painfully claims the attention of the directors: it is the melancholy death of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. During the short period of his residence at this presidency, Bishop Heber honoured the Asylums with a visit; and on that occasion, having condescended to examine the children in each school, his lordship was pleased to express his extreme gratification at the efficiency of the institutions, the healthy appearance and regularity of the children, as well as their proficiency in learning. Grateful as the approbation of this virtuous and distinguished prelate was, affording encouragement to future exertions, and the hope of additional patronage, it now serves to increase the regret occasioned by his removal from these scenes of his usefulness. In paying this humble tribute of respect to the memory of the beloved and revered bishop, the directors are individually and collectively persuaded they do but express the sympathising feelings of a sorrowing flock, at the loss of so worthy a pastor! a loss which all charitable institutions, in common with those under consideration, must deeply deplore."

† Vol. II. p. 339, 8vo. edit. Vol. II. p. 346, 12mo. edit. Philad.

pulpit and reading-desk on each side of the aisle, gave from every part of the Church a full and uninterrupted view of the recess of the altar, which is well raised and of excellent proportions. It is his wish that in every church the altar should be the first and chief object, and that it should be rather more elevated than is usually the case. He intimated his intention to the committee of consecrating the Church on his return to the presidency, when the furniture of the interior is expected to be completed."* The remark he made on the state of this mission was, "that although he had visited several native congregations in the North of India, and in Ceylon, he had not met with one which gave him so much pleasure, or held out so fair a promise of future good." Of the two excellent missionaries who presided over it, Dr. Rottler, and Mr. Haubroe, the bishop spoke in terms of the highest praise, at a public meeting of the society in Madras.†

The rapid approach of the hot season did not permit of his seeing more than the principal objects of interest in this mission, and the consideration of many very important points in connexion with it, he reserved for a future opportunity. He remarked to Mr. Robinson that Vepery was the proper place for the establishment of a seminary for the education of native Christian youths intended for holy orders, dependant on, and auxiliary to Bishop's College, but on a far less expensive scale; and he thought that at some future period it might appear a very important object to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.‡

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* Last days of Bishop Heber, p. 102, 103.

† At the commencement of 1829, good old Dr. Rottler was still living, but in a state of great feebleness. Even then he preached every Sunday morning to his Tamul congregation; his chief anxiety was that he might live to finish his Tamul dictionary, which was almost completed, and was being printed in the mission press at Vepery.

‡ Vepery is a very important missionary station on various accounts; it is in the centre of a large Christian, native, and half-caste population, possesses a considerable printing establishment, and from its vicinity to Madras, is peculiarly calculated for the instruction of missionaries on their first arrival, while it is immediately under the controul of the Societies for Propagating the Gospel, and for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Archdeacon Robinson, in a letter to the editor, gives the following information relative to the mission in 1829. "The new schools at Vepery are nearly finished, and their completion will not only greatly improve that department of the

"*March 9th.*—The bishop visited the military station of Poonamalee, about ten miles distant from Madras, where there is a *depôt* for recruits on their first arrival from England, a considerable number of pensioners, and an asylum for the children of soldiers. All these circumstances conspire to make it a most important sphere of clerical labour, comprising as it does a very large number of those who require catechetical instruction, the young and healthy who have not yet lost the good impressions of their early education, and the veteran who has much to unlearn after a long life, perhaps, of vicious indulgence. Many of these pensioners are allowed to live at Tripassore, about eighteen miles further inland, and which is occasionally visited by the chaplain of Poonamalee. * * * * * * * * There is a small church here which was consecrated by Bishop Middleton in 1816; but it is much disfigured by an enormous pulpit which completely conceals the altar. The bishop requested that this might be removed and given to Mr. Sawyer's Tamil chapel, and something smaller and less unsightly substituted for it. He exceedingly dislikes the prevailing custom of intercepting the view of the communion table, and recommends the adoption, in all cases, of two light desks, one on each side of the aisle, and raised by a few steps from the level of the floor, as in the new church at Vepery.

"Divine service commenced at ten o'clock, when the bishop administered confirmation to one hundred and five candidates. While I was arranging them and receiving their tickets, it appeared that several others, who had not previously been examined, were very desirous of being admitted if possible. His lordship, when I mentioned this to him, desired me to examine them, and promised, if I found them properly instructed, to hold

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mission, but make room for better arrangements in the printing office, which is now much cramped. The great want in this, as in all the other missions which I have seen, is that of native, or country born catechists. We are forming a seminary for their education, under the immediate inspection of the missionary with whom they are hereafter to serve, *in each separate mission for its own supply*, with the addition at Vepery of an upper class, to which boys of promising disposition and talents may be brought from the out-stations, as candidates for holy orders, under the more direct superintendance of the archdeacon.

a second service for that purpose in the afternoon, being very unwilling to reject any whom he could conscientiously admit, from the great uncertainty whether a similar opportunity might ever again be afforded them. His address after the morning service had particular reference to these new candidates. Fourteen of these, among whom was an old pensioner, I thought sufficiently prepared; but there was one young woman who came with her little boy, and thinking him too young, I advised her to keep him back till the bishop's return to Madras. She had stood behind the rest while I was speaking to them, and when I had finished, came forward with much feeling, and begged that she might herself be admitted. She wept much, was evidently in declining health, and there was a sincerity and earnestness in her whole manner that affected the bishop most powerfully. 'Bring them both to me,' he said, 'who knows whether they may live to wish for it again?' The evening service and the second confirmation was at three o'clock. The bishop addressed them also in his usual impressive manner, and at five o'clock we set out on our return home. We had scarcely, however, left the door, when we found another congregation anxiously expecting him. Mr. Sawyer, one of the Church missionaries at Madras, has built a small chapel here, with a school room and catechist's house. He has a similar establishment at Tripassore, and some other neighbouring places, which are branches of his mission, and to each of which he makes an occasional visit. We found here seventy or eighty persons assembled, and the bishop repeated several of the collects and the Lord's prayer, and dismissed them with the benediction.

"While I was engaged with the candidates between the morning and evening services, the bishop was writing an answer to an important communication he received yesterday, and in the result of which he is much interested. It appears that a considerable number of poor native Christians, employed about the beach, have built by subscription a good church for their own use; and though nominally Roman Catholics, yet being dissatisfied with the neglect they have experienced from their own pastors, they are just balancing whether they shall not seize the opportunity of our bishop's presence at Madras, to

make the building, which is nearly finished, a Protestant church, and request the services of a clergyman of the Church of England. This proposition no doubt originates chiefly in the extraordinary feeling of personal respect and affection with which all classes, native as well as European, through all the gradations of society, regard the bishop; for it is altogether their own act, uninfluenced by any persuasion of their superiors. If it should take effect, it will be an important stride of our Church before that of Rome, and will be a strong additional proof of the excellent effect of our episcopal establishment, not only for the support, but also the peaceable extension of the Church. His Lordship has written to say, that if this should be their determination, he will, with great pleasure, consecrate the church when he returns, will preach to them himself in Portuguese during his residence at Madras, and fix among them a regularly ordained minister. He mentioned to me his intention of appointing Mr. Sawyer to this new duty, as one whose temper and conduct had given him much pleasure. It is well for the Bishop that the journey will give him some respite; many such days of labour, together with that characteristic earnestness with which he enters into every new plan of usefulness, would soon exhaust a stronger frame than his. How little idea have our friends in England what the labours of an Indian bishop really are. !"*

The question of the observance or abolition of caste among the native Christian converts, which had caused so much disturbance in the southern missions, was here again brought before the Bishop. He deferred coming to any decision on a subject of such importance, till he had himself seen and examined into its merits in the course of his approaching visitation; but he desired that all the information which could be procured concerning it might be laid before him, and appointed a select committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to make more particular inquiries into the case. From Chillumbrum he also wrote the following letter on the subject to Mr. Schreivogel.

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* Last days of Bishop Heber, p. 107—112.

To the Reverend D. Schreivogel.

Chillumbrum, March 21, 1826.

"Reverend and Dear Sir,

"I wrote yesterday to Dr. Cæmmerer to express my regret at not being able to visit you at Tranquebar. Since that time, having again looked over your letter to me, as well as that which you sent on the subject of *distinctions of caste*, and of other customs yet remaining among the native Christians, which you reprobate as Heathenish and improper, I have been led to wish for some explanation of those customs and of your reasons for objecting to them, of which the latter, as expressed in those papers, (to deal freely with you,) do not seem to me satisfactory. With regard to the distinctions of caste, as yet maintained by professing Christians, it appears that they are manifested in desiring separate seats in church; in going up at different times to to receive the holy communion; in insisting on their children having different sides of the school; in refusing to eat, drink, or associate with those of a different caste.

"Now it is desirable to know whether these are insisted on as *religious* or as merely *civil* distinctions; whether as arising from a greater supposed purity and blessedness in the soodras over the pariahs; or whether they are not badges of nobility and ancient pedigree such as those which in Spain, even among the poorest classes, divide the old Spaniards and Castilians from persons of mixed blood,—and in the United States of North America entirely exclude negroes and mulattos, however free and wealthy, from familiar intercourse with the whites; also whether the Christians of high caste adhere to these distinctions, as supposing that there is any *real value* in them, or merely out of fear to lose the society and respect of their neighbours and relations? If these questions are answered in the affirmative, (as they have been very solemnly by the Reverend Christian David, in answer to my repeated inquiries,) I confess that I do not think the evil so great as to be insufferable, or to justify the ministers of Christ in repelling from the communion those who adhere to them, though it may be that the spirit of pride, (from

which they flow,) should, by gentle means, be corrected as far as possible. We all know, that in Europe, persons of noble birth or great fortune claim and possess precedence in our churches, and I have already observed that the whites take the same priority to themselves in America. But there is no reason for this but custom, inasmuch as a gentleman and a beggar are as much equals in God's sight as a soodra and a pariah. The reason why a Christian gentleman conforms to these rules is, because by acting differently he would lose influence with those of his own degree in society, and a soodra may say the same thing, and does say it. It seems then to me, that this distinction of castes in church may still be allowed to continue, provided due care is taken to teach our congregations that they are all naturally equal.

"With regard to their private meals and social intercourse, it seems to me that we have still less business to interfere. 'For meat and drink destroy not him for whom Christ died!' In the schools, indeed, and among the children, taking places, &c. must be arranged; as it appears to me, without regard to caste, but even here caution should be observed to disgust no man needlessly.

"I perceive you object very strongly to certain ceremonies usual in marriages, such as going in procession through the streets with music, erecting a pendal, &c. On what grounds of reason or Scripture do you object to these? Are they idolatrous? are they necessarily or usually attended with uncleanness or indecency? In what respect do they essentially differ from those ancient ceremonies which are known on the like occasions to have been practised among the Jews, to which both the prophets and our Saviour make repeated allusions without ever blaming them, and which, judging from analogy, must have been practised at that very marriage of Cana, which our Lord sanctioned by his presence?

"Again, it appears that one of your principal causes of complaint against the Danish government has been, that they would not sanction the sentence of excommunication pronounced against a person who had dancing girls in his house, and another

who had acted some theatrical part. Now here, too, I much want information. Were the dances indecent in themselves? Were the performers persons of notoriously indecent character, prostitutes, or servants of some Heathen temple, or did you object to the dancing itself as unchristian, and a fit ground for excommunication? In like manner, was the acting on a public stage, and for money? was the drama indecent or immoral? or was it (as from the little which I yet know of Indian customs I am led to suspect) one of those masked fooleries in which the common people of Germany and England often indulge at Christmas and harvest home; and which, though they may sometimes be abused, are not regarded as in themselves criminal, or worthy of ecclesiastical censure?

"My reasons for asking information on these subjects will be plain, when I mention that the question of caste, and of such practices as these, has been referred to my consideration both by the Christians and missionaries of Vepery; and that in order to gain more light on the subject, a select committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has been, at my desire, appointed. In the mean time, I am most anxious to learn from every quarter, especially from a Christian minister of your experience and high character, the real truth of the case. God forbid that we should encourage or suffer any of our converts to go on in practices either antichristian or immoral; but (I will speak plainly with you as one brother in Christ should with another) I have also some fears that recent missionaries have been more scrupulous in these matters than need requires, and than was thought fit by Schwartz and his companions. God forbid that we should wink at sin! But God forbid also, that we should make the narrow gate of life narrower than Christ has made it, or deal less favourably with the prejudices of this people, than St. Paul and the primitive Church dealt with the almost similar prejudices of the Jewish converts!

"It has occurred to me that if either you or Dr. Cæmmerer (to whom pray offer my best wishes and respects) could find time on Easter Monday to come over to meet me at Tanjore, my doubts might be the better cleared, one way or the other,

and other matters might be discussed in a few words, of much advantage to the cause of missions in this country.

"I remain, reverend and dear Sir,

"Your faithful and obedient servant,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

Before the bishop left Madras, he was requested by some of its principal inhabitants to print the sermons which he preached within that presidency, a request with which he promised compliance. "Several times as we have been riding by St. George's," Mr. Robinson goes on to say, "he has remarked its beautiful structure rising amidst the palms that surround it, as a striking emblem of the peaceful and gradual establishment of Christianity in India; and to-day as we were going to church, he promised to make a sketch of St. George's for the frontispiece of the little volume, with this appropriate motto,

"Crescite felices, coæ crescite palmæ."*

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"*March 11th.*—We went in our robes to Lady Munro, to whom the bishop presented the vote of thanks from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for her kind patronage, particularly of the schools at Vepery, to which she has been in the habit of presenting annual prizes from her own bounty. I have seldom witnessed a more interesting or affecting picture: the beauty and gracefulness of Lady Munro, the grave and commanding figure of the governor, the youthful appearance and simple dignity of the dear bishop, the beloved of all beholders, presented a scene such as few can ever hope to witness. Sir Thomas listened with deep interest to every word that the bishop addressed to her, and then said, while he pressed his hand, and the tears were rolling down his venerable cheeks—'My lord, it will be in vain for me after this to preach humility

* In fulfilment of her husband's wishes, the editor has published all these sermons, with a drawing of the church. The motto she had, unfortunately, forgotten; and her application for it to Mr. Robinson was not answered in time to allow of its insertion in the volume.

to Lady Munro; she will be proud of this day to the latest hour she lives.' 'God bless you, Sir Thomas!' was the only answer the feelings of the bishop allowed him to make—'and God bless *you*, my lord!' was the earnest and affectionate reply."

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"*March 12th.*—The bishop preached to an overflowing congregation, at the chapel in the Black Town in the morning, and great expedition having been used in completing the preparations for lighting St. George's, he preached the first evening lecture there, which he has established instead of the former afternoon service. The church was crowded to excess, and the bishop's farewell address from the words '*he sent them away*,' was a forcible and touching appeal to the hearts of his audience, especially begging them to continue their attendance at this new service, which he had suggested for their greater comfort, and charging them to remember him in their prayers."[1]

To the Venerable Archdeacon Hawtayne.

Madras, March 1826.

"Dear Mr. Archdeacon,

"Not long before I left Calcutta I received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Carr, garrison chaplain of Bombay and commissioner at that time for the exercise of the archidiaconal duties in that presidency, enclosing copies of a correspondence between Major General Sir Lionel Smith, &c. and the Reverend Mr. Goode, chaplain of Poonah, on the hardships to which soldiers and the followers of a camp are liable, in consequence of chaplains refusing to marry them without the usual preliminaries of banns or license.

"The major general there states (and his opinion appears to be confirmed by that of Mr. Goode) that the sudden changes of residence and other circumstances, to which a military life is liable in India, must render in very many instances, the publication of banns impossible: while the expense of a license (arising from the high stamp duty, and the fees required by the officers

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[1] Bishop Heber's Last Days, p. 111—113.

of His Majesty's supreme courts of judicature) puts it no less beyond the reach of the persons in whose behalf he makes the application.

"The subject thus brought before my notice has very long occupied much of my most anxious thought; and, from the best information which I have been enabled to collect, it appears to me that the grievance complained of is by no means imaginary or trifling, and that it may be, and has been, attended with consequences extremely injurious to the happiness of individuals, and the public interests of morality and religion.

"It is certain, however, that the chaplain of Poonah did no more than his duty in refusing to celebrate a marriage without these previous requisites,—inasmuch, as in so doing, he conformed to the canons of the church, and to a specific direction for their careful observance in this particular, which, as I understand, was issued by Bishop Middleton.

"On the other hand, I find, that till that injunction was issued, it was the uniform practice of chaplains in India, to celebrate such military marriages without banns, or any other license than a written permission from the officer commanding the regiment to which the parties belonged; a practice which, I understand, is also followed by His Majesty's military chaplains, when attached to corps on foreign service; and which, therefore, by a parity of circumstances, may seem no less allowable in these remote and newly conquered countries. It appears too, that a compliance with the letter of the canons has been found actually impossible in many parts of India; and that, more particularly in the Upper Provinces of the presidency of Bengal, the chaplains have continued their former practice, Bishop Middleton's injunction to the contrary notwithstanding.

"I conceive, indeed, with sincere respect for the opinion of a man so good and wise as my excellent predecessor, that the terms and provisions of the two canons on which his injunction is founded, are, on the face of things, in many instances, inapplicable to the state of Christian society in British India, since banns are impossible or nugatory in stations which a clergyman only visits once a month; or where the parties are, perhaps, a hundred miles distant from the nearest place of worship; while

in canon ci. the use of licenses is restricted expressly to persons of 'a state and quality' superior to that of a common soldier or camp follower.

"In order, therefore, to meet as far as possible, the evils complained of, till some further instructions can be received from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, (to whom I have thought it my duty to refer the question,*) you will oblige me by informing the clergy of your archdeaconry, that they are at liberty to celebrate the marriages of military persons, soldiers, female followers of the camp, suttlers, or others subject to martial law, under the rank of commissioned officers, without banns or license, and by virtue of a written permission signed by the commanding officer of the station, garrison, or detachment to which such soldier or military person belongs.

Such permission must, however, be presented to the officiating clergyman, at least, two days before the celebration of the marriage, unless, *for some urgent cause*, he may see fit to be satisfied with a shorter notice.

"If any doubts arise as to the propriety of the connexion, the clergyman shall not delay to make due inquiry, both personally from the parties and otherwise; and, should it appear to him that any lawful impediment exists, to suspend the ceremony till he receives further satisfaction, reporting the same immediately to the commanding officer, and, if need be, to the archdeacon and the bishop.

"I remain, dear Mr. Archdeacon,
"Your faithful and obedient servant.
"Reginald Calcutta."

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* The letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury which is here referred to, was written during the bishop's voyage from Calcutta to Madras, and has since been published in the correspondence, in his Journal in India, Vol. II. p. 326, 8vo. edit. Vol. II. p. 332, 12mo. edit. Philadelphia.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The bishop leaves Madras—Pondicherry—Mission at Cuddalore—Preference given to the Heathens before Christians—Plans for improving the mission—Visit from the country priest of the Tanjore mission—Remarks on colonization and administration of justice—The bishop arrives at Tanjore—Monument of Schwartz—Raja of Tanjore—Illness of Dr. Hyne—Contemplated improvement of the Tanjore missions—Visit to the Raja—Missionaries at Tanjore—The bishop's arrival at Trichinopoly—His last public acts—Conclusion. 1826.

"*March*, 13*th*—We left Madras this afternoon, after a fortnight of great enjoyment, as well as exertion. The novelty and variety of the objects that have engaged the bishop's attention, the excellence of the public institutions, and the foundation of missionary labours in the venerable establishments at Vepery, have all conspired to excite the strongest interest in favour of Madras; and no where has his own character been more justly appreciated. He has been particularly gratified by observing the harmony that so happily prevails among the clergy, and their disinterested kindness in assisting each other, and even seeking for opportunities of extending their sphere of usefulness. This was particularly shown in the readiness with which they embraced his arrangement for the afternoon service at the Fort church, in consequence of which, Messrs. Roy, Moorsom, and Denton, will take that duty in rotation with the chaplain of St. Mary's. On the whole, I am sure he leaves Madras with cordial feelings of attachment to the inhabitants, and increasing interest in this important portion of his diocese.

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"*March 17th.*—We arrived at Pondicherry after an intensely hot march, and found our tents pitched on a burning sand, about a mile from the town. The road is not unlike that from Galle to Colombo, with abundance of palmyra, and the country, though sandy, not at all destitute of cultivation. After breakfast the police-master arrived with a message of welcome from the French governor, and half an hour after, one of his aides-de-camp brought an invitation to an early dinner, and a guard of honour to remain with the bishop. The Cure of Pondicherry, Padre Felice, a Capuchin from Italy, sent a very civil message begging the bishop to use his garden-house which is in the neighbourhood of our tents; but as we must march to-morrow in order to reach Cuddalore before Sunday, his lordship declined accepting it; we did not therefore see the Cure. We were received at government-house in a most cordial and hospitable manner, and among the guests at dinner, the bishop was pleased to find the Viscompte de Richmont, who has lately arrived from Europe, to succeed to the government, and brought letters for his lord-ship from Mr. Elphinstone at Bombay. He is an accomplished man, and has travelled much in India, Persia, and many countries of Europe. His fellow-traveller, Monsieur Belanger, is also an intelligent young man; and an old gentleman, who has employed many years in antiquarian researches, and seen much of the northern provinces of Hindoostan, was not the least amusing of the party. The conversation between these gentlemen and the bishop was lively and brilliant. He talks French with considerable ease and fluency, and it would be difficult for men of any country to start a subject of conversation, however foreign from his own immediate pursuits, with which his various and discursive reading has not made him in some degree familiar; there is a playfulness also in his mode of communicating what he knows, and a tact and consideration for the national and literary prejudices of others, that particularly endeared him to the little circle of to-day.

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"On my return to government-house, I found the bishop had been requested to confirm four young persons, the children of an English officer deceased, by a French lady. We went in-

mediately to their house, and he spent an hour in examining and conversing with them on the subject of religion. I was much struck with the patience and earnestness of his manner in this interesting service, and not only the ease but the manifest delight with which he left the crowded party of the governor, which was anxiously waiting his return, for this unexpected call of duty. The fatigue of travelling, the excessive heat, and the constant engagements of the day had all been extremely exhausting, and we have to march at three to-morrow morning; yet he did not shorten in any degree what it was right to say. He expressed great pleasure in their answers and general appearance, and after confirming them, returned for a short time to the government-house, and retired early to his tent. He has invited the young officer who came with the guard of honour this morning, to accompany us to Tanjore."*

The bishop arrived at Cuddalore on the 18th where he was hospitably received by Colonel Frazer. The mission at this place is one of the oldest in the south of India; it was founded in 1736 by an individual, Mr. Schultze, and its church was built in 1766, principally out of the ruins of the fort, (St. David,) which had been destroyed by war. Its pecuniary circumstances were such as ought, with proper management, to render it almost independent of the parent society, and one of the most flourishing and richest of its establishments. But the bishop had the mortification to find that, from the misconduct of a former missionary, now dead, its affairs had been for years gradually falling into decay. The church was much out of repair, the school-room in a very wretched state, with a master unequal to his duties, while sources from which considerable funds might be drawn, were either totally neglected, or appropriated to objects unconnected with the establishment. An estate on which there is a village called "Padre Cottagam," or the "Minister's Farm," which had been granted to the mission by the Madras government in 1760, had been seized on for debt in 1821, by the then collector of Tanjore. This farm is situated on a small island formed by the windings of the river Coleroon in the dis-

* Last Days of Bishop Heber, p. 126—130

triet of Tanjore, and is remarkable for its fertility. By good management it might be brought to produce a yearly rent of 500 rupees; while the original debt of 523, had, at the time of the bishop's arrival, been reduced, by a part of the land being in cultivation, to 300 rupees. To this neglected mission the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had requested the bishop's particular attention, and in 1825 had voted a sum of money for the necessary buildings and repairs. It occasioned him much trouble and anxious consideration; he went over the premises, examined its various buildings, and consulted the best informed natives, as well as Europeans, on its resources, and on the most effectual means of restoring it to that degree of usefulness and prosperity of which it was capable. Among the memoranda which he left, and which were to form the basis of a letter intended to be written to the Christian Knowledge Society, were the following observations on Cuddalore.

"It is not as a source of income, but as the nucleus of a Christian agricultural population, that this property appears to me most valuable. There is no want of colonists of such a description; a considerable number from Tranquebar, well recommended by Dr. Cæmmerer, have applied for permission to settle there; and other industrious Christian families might be easily selected from Cuddalore, and perhaps, Tanjore. The space would afford accommodation and nourishment, as I am informed by a native tussildar, for fifty or sixty families. Give them the land, in small lots and on easy terms, as tenants at will, build a church and fix a missionary there, and what an opening would not this give to the spread of the Gospel? By God's blessing and the help of benevolent individuals, other lands might be purchased in the same neighbourhood, the parish would grow larger and larger, and the schools, the church, the every thing but the missionary's salary might be defrayed by the very moderate rate of the cultivators. These last, indeed, might be only required, for some years to pay the government tax, and a proportionate rent on that land which was tax free. They would be thus encouraged to clear away jungle, repair dams, &c.; the property at present worthless, would get good heart:

and a population now poor, dependant, and idle, would be trained up in habits of industry and comfort. It would be necessary, however, for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to pay the debt to government, and to purchase the land in question from the Cuddalore mission, who might otherwise mismanage it. It will also be necessary to advance the first year a small sum to the cultivators, (200 rupees Mr. Rosen says will be abundantly sufficient,) and above all to pay a missionary and a catechist. Mr. Rosen also talked of a headman at a handsome salary being necessary to oversee the cultivation; but I cannot see why each peasant should not cultivate his little lot for himself, without such a go-between. All disputes might be referred to the missionary."

The following remark was also found in the same paper of memoranda, which affords an additional proof of the tendency which exists almost all over India to the employment of the Heathen, in preference to the Christian part of the community; a system which met with the bishop's warmest reprobation, and would have been, had his life been spared, the subject of unceasing remonstrances with the authorities both at home and in India.

"The cultivated fields in the neighbourhood of this place, (Cuddalore,) are let to Heathens, though Mr. Rosen complains that the Christians are universally in want of employment. He urges, however, that the Christians, being very poor, would be wretched paymasters, and that they would be discontented if they had not the lands at a proportionably easy rent."

It was the bishop's intention to urge the employment of Christians on the mission lands in all cases where it was practicable, as the advantage thus bestowed on the community would far repay the sacrifice incurred by their inability, for a few years, to pay such high rents as the Heathen tenants. With reference to the school, the bishop wrote, "The present schoolroom is a wretched ruinous building, adjoining the church-yard,

entirely unfit for its purpose.* On the other side of the church, and so near it as at present to be a dangerous nuisance, there is a native house and garden, which might afford good accommodation for the schools, school-master, and catechists, and might be purchase for seventy-five pagodas. This would be a very desirable acquisition if the money could be raised."†

To the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

Carnatic, March 1826.

" * * * * You ask me, in your last letter, my thoughts about colonization. I rather think I gave them you in a letter from Pertâbghur in Malwah. Indiscriminate colonization would only add to the numbers, already much too great, of starving adventurers, who, in every branch of industry, unless aided by great capitals, would be undersold by the frugal and imitative natives. Retired servants of the Company, however, and others, commanding a certain large sum, and a certificate of character, might be permitted, I think with advantage, to purchase land; and if the duties on Indian sugars and manufactures were taken off, would thrive both as planters and cotton spinners. But this free trade must precede all other measures. The only place where any extended colonization of a purely agricultural kind could be formed, would be, perhaps, the Neelghurree hills, which are said, by many well informed persons in this presidency, to be well adapted to European labourers. But such labourers, though they might feed themselves, would, for want of a market, always remain in poverty. It might, however, be one advantageous vent for the wretched and daily increasing half-caste population, and perhaps, for the poor native Christians who are now sadly discouraged. The experiment, Sir Thomas Munro says, is about to be tried with some of the military pensioners.

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* This school-room has since been rebuilt.

† On Mr. Robinson's return to Cuddalore, after the fatal event at Trichinopoly, he examined this house and garden, and agreed so entirely with the bishop as to the advantage of their being attached to the mission, that, as the property was then on sale, he advised Mr. Rosen to make the purchase.

"But there is one point which, the more I have seen of India, since I left Bengal for the first time, has more and more impressed itself on my mind. Neither native nor European agriculturist, I think, can thrive at the present rate of taxation. Half the gross produce of the soil is demanded by government, and this, which is nearly the average rate wherever there is not a permanent settlement, is sadly too much to leave an adequate provision for the peasant, even with the usual frugal habits of Indians, and the very inartificial and cheap manner in which they cultivate the land. Still more is it an effectual bar to every thing like improvement; it keeps the people, even in favourable years, in a state of abject penury; and when the crop fails, in even a slight degree, it involves a necessity on the part of government of enormous outlays, in the way of remission and distribution, which, after all, do not prevent men, women, and children dying in the streets by droves, and the roads being strewed with carcasses. In Bengal, where, independent of its exuberant fertility, there is a permanent assessment, famine is unknown. In Hindoostan, on the other hand, I found a general feeling among the king's officers, and I myself was led, from some circumstances, to agree with them, that the peasantry in the company's provinces are, on the whole, worse off, poorer, and more dispirited than the subjects of the native princes; and here, in Madras, where the soil is, generally speaking, poor, the difference is said to be still more marked. The fact is, no native prince demands the rent which we do; and making every allowance for the superior regularity of our system, &c., I met with very few public men who will not, in confidence, own their belief that the people are over taxed, and that the country is in a gradual state of impoverishment. The collectors do not like to make this avowal officially. Indeed, now and then, a very able collector succeeds in lowering the rate to the people, while, by diligence, he increases it to the state. But, in general, all gloomy pictures are avoided by them as reflecting on themselves, and drawing on them censure from the secretaries at Madras or Calcutta; while these, in their turn, plead the earnestness with which the directors at home press for more money.

"I am convinced that it is only necessary to draw less money

from the peasants, and to spend more of what is drawn within the country, to open some door to Indian industry in Europe, and to admit the natives of India to some greater share in the magistracy of their own people, to make this empire as durable as it would be happy. But as things now go on, though I do not detract any part of the praise which I have, on other occasions bestowed on the general conduct of the company's servants, their modesty, their diligence, and integrity, I do not think the present empire can be durable.

"I have sometimes wished that its immediate management were transferred to the crown. But what I saw in Ceylon makes me think this a doubtful remedy, unless the government, and, above all, the *people* of England were convinced that no country can bear to pay so large a revenue to foreigners, as to those who spend their wealth within their own borders; and that most of the causes which once made these countries wealthy, have ceased to exist in proportion as the industry and ingenuity of England have rivalled and excelled them. Even Bengal is taxed highly, not indeed directly on its land, but in salt and other duties. But Bengal is naturally of such exuberant fertility, that whoever has seen it alone will form a too flattering estimate of these vast countries.

"In a country thus situated, unless some concomitant change occurs, it seems plain that a colonist would generally find nothing but disappointment and mendicancy."

"*March* 21*st*.—We left our excellent host at Cuddalore, and made a night's run to Chillumbrum, a mode of travelling which the bishop exceedingly dislikes, but it is necessary in order to enable us to spend Easter-day at Tanjore. The heat in our tents to-day, with all the appliances of tatties, &c. was intense; we could not reduce it below 97°."*

"On Good Friday, the 24th of March, the bishop set off at three o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Combaconum at seven, where he preached. In the course of the day the country priest of the Tanjore mission, who was accidentally there,

* Last days of Bishop Heber, p. 139.

was introduced to him. The appearance and manner of the old man struck the bishop very forcibly, and he not only made many inquiries into the state of the mission, and the success he had met with among his Heathen brethren, but asked with great interest many particulars about himself, his family, and his prospects. He then expected him to take leave, but perceiving that he still lingered as if in expectation of something more, the bishop inquired of one of the missionaries whether the old man expected a present. On being informed that it was a custom among the Tamul Christians never to leave the presence of a minister whom they respected, without receiving his blessing, he immediately rose, and fervently blessing the old man, he said, "I will bless them all,—the good people!"

The bishop was accompanied on his further progress to Tanjore, by six missionaries. Before he left Combaconum, he gave John Devasagayram, a native catechist, a prayer book with his own name written in it, "that he might not forget him."

The native Christians at Tranquebar, expressed through their missionary a very earnest desire to see their bishop among them; but it was impossible to gratify their wishes, as the lateness of the season rendered so great a deviation from his intended route impracticable. "Tell them, however," he said "that I hope to see them all in heaven!"

On the 25th of March the bishop arrived at Tanjore, where he was most kindly received by Captain and Mrs. Fyfe. An extract from Mr. Robinson's letter to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, written when the scene was fresh in his memory, will convey to the reader, far more forcibly than any words the editor can use, the impression of that deep and pure delight with which her husband contemplated this mission, the establishment, and for a long time, the residence of the apostolic Schwartz.*

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* For the greater part of the particulars relative to the bishop's visitation of the southern missions, of his views for their extension and greater efficiency, and of his intended representations on their behalf to government, and to the parent societies in England, the editor is indebted to Mr. Robinson, who, on his return to Calcutta, in the summer of 1826, made her acquainted with all her husband's plans, as well as

"It was at Tanjore, in the institutions of the venerable Schwartz, in the labours of those excellent men who have succeeded him on the same field, and in the numerous churches of native Christians which they have founded and built up, that his interest was most strongly excited, and the energies of his powerful mind most earnestly employed. He lived, alas! only to feel how much there was of future usefulness before him if his life were spared; to witness, with deep and holy pleasure, the numbers, the apparent devotion, the regularity and Christian order of the several congregations assembled round him; to mourn over the contracted means at the disposal of the missionaries, (which in truth is the only limit to the extension of their usefulness,) and to collect such minute and accurate information, and make such immediate arrangements as the shortness of his time, and the magnitude of his other avocations allowed."

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"After dinner the bishop walked over the premises of the mission, visited Schwartz's chapel, hallowed by the grave of the apostolic man, and copied the inscription on the stone which covers it, interesting as being the composition of the rajah himself, and certainly the only specimen of English verse ever attempted by a prince of India. He was particularly pleased with the natural simplicity of expression in the last lines.

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with the measures which he had himself adopted for their furtherance, after Christian India was deprived of her powerful intercessor.

With a heartfelt, but melancholy satisfaction, the editor takes this opportunity of paying the tribute of gratitude which she owes to Mr. Robinson, for the many friendly and important services he rendered her husband during the eight months their connexion lasted. By the energy and judgment with which he followed up his plans, and made his suggestions and wishes known in those quarters where alone they could meet with their accomplishment, he averted, as far as was possible, the fatal consequences with which the bishop's sudden removal threatened the interests of the southern missions; while by his eloquence and deep feeling in recording his virtues, he has added an unfading wreath to the garland which consecrates his memory. See Mr. Robinson's funeral sermon, preached at Trichinopoly, April 9th

Sacred to the Memory
of the
REVEREND CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SCHWARTZ,
Missionary to the Honourable Society
for Promoting Christian Knowledge,
in London,
who departed this life
on the 13th of February, 1798,
Aged 71 years and 4 months.

Firm wast thou, humble and wise,
Honest, pure, free from disguise;
Father of orphans, the widow's support,
Comfort in sorrow of every sort,
To the benighted dispenser of light,
Doing and pointing to that which is right
Blessing to princes, to people, to me:
May I, my father, be worthy of thee.
Wishes and prayeth thy Sarabojee.

"The chapel is of the simplest order, with a semi-circular recess for the altar at the east end; the tomb of Schwartz is just before the reading desk in front of the altar. Before the southern entrance are the trees under which the venerable father used to sit and receive the reports of the catechists, and examine the children just before the daily evening service. Immediately adjoining the chapel was Schwartz's cottage, on the site of which, but considerably enlarged from the former foundations, Mr. Spersehneider has built a house which would be an excellent rectory in England. The mission garden is very large, and we saw there many native Christians, among whom one was presented to the bishop as one of the few who have offices under government: he is a writer in the rajah's service.

"*March 26th, Easter Day.*—The bishop preached this morning in the mission church in the fort, all the clergy present assisting in the service. His text was from Rev. i. 8. 'I am He that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore.' Many of the native Christians, who understand English, were there, and entreated his lordship, after the service, that he would allow them a copy of his sermon. He promised to make some alterations in the style, so as to bring it nearer to their

comprehensions, and have it translated for them into Tamul. I assisted him in the administration of the sacrament to thirty communicants of the English, and fifty-seven of the native congregation; to each of the latter we repeated the words in Tamul. The interest of this service, in itself most interesting, was greatly heightened by the delight and animation of the bishop, the presence of so many missionaries, whose labours were before us, and all the associations of the place in which we were assembled, built by the venerable Schwartz, whose monument, erected by the affection of the rajah, adorns the western end of the church. The groupe in white marble, by Flaxman, represents the good man on his death bed, Gericke standing behind him, the rajah at his side, two native attendants and three children of his school around his bed. I did not learn who wrote the inscription; which, though not perhaps all one might have wished on such a subject, yet records with strict propriety and truth, the singular homage paid to his high character by contending princes, and the influence of his counsels in the settlement of the principality. This was also gratefully acknowledged by the Court of Directors in the monument raised to his memory in the Fort Church at Madras.

To the memory of the
REVEREND CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SCHWARTZ.
Born at Sonnenburg of Neumark, in the kingdom of Prussia,
the 26th of October, 1726,
and died at Tanjore, the 13th of February, 1798,
in the 72nd year of his age.
Devoted from his early manhood to the office of
Missionary in the East,
the similarity of his situation to that of
the first preachers of the Gospel
produced in him a peculiar resemblance to
the simple sanctity of the
Apostolic character.
His natural vivacity won the affection,
as his unspotted probity and purity of life
alike commanded the
reverence of the
Christian, Mahomedan, and Hindu

For sovereign princes, Hindu and Mahomedan,
selected this humble Pastor
as the medium of political negociation with
the British Government:
and the very marble that here records his virtues
was raised by
the liberal affection and esteem of the
Raja of Tanjore,
Maha Raja Serfojee."*

These memorials of the rajah's veneration for the memory of Schwartz, reflect no less honour on himself than on the object of his filial affection; but in the daily increasing number of converts, in the churches which he founded, and in the order and prosperity of their congregations, a more durable monument is raised to the memory of Schwartz, than even the genius of Flaxman and the affection of the rajah combined could create.

"In the evening the bishop attended a Tamul service in the same church, which was literally crowded with the native Christians of Tanjore and the surrounding villages, many of whom had come from a considerable distance to be present on this occasion. Mr. Barenbruck, assisted by a native priest, read the prayers, Dr. Caemmerer, from Tranquebar, preached, and the bishop delivered the blessing in Tamul from the altar. Mr. Kohloff assured me that his pronunciation was remarkably correct and distinct, and the breathless silence of the congregation testified their delight and surprise at this affecting recognition of their churches as a part of his pastoral charge. I desired one of the native priests to ascertain how many were present, and I found they exceeded *thirteen hundred*; yet by the judicious arrangement of excluding the infants, whom their poor mothers are in general obliged to bring, there was not the least disorder or confusion; and I have seen no congregation, even in Europe, by whom the responses of the liturgy are more generally and correctly made, or where the psalmody is more devotional and correct. The effect was more than electric; it was a deep and thrilling interest, in which memory, and hope, and joy mingled with the devotion of the hour, to hear so many voices, but lately

* Last days of Bishop Heber, p. 150—151.

rescued from the polluting services of the pagoda, joining in the pure and heavenly music of the Easter Hymn, and the 100th Psalm, and uttering the loud Amen at the close of every prayer. For the last ten years I have longed to witness a scene like this, but the reality exceeds all my expectations. I wished that some of those (if any of that number still remain) who deem all missionary exertion, under any circumstances, a senseless chimera, and confound the humble and silent labours of these devoted men with the dreams of fanaticism or the frauds of imposture, could have witnessed this sensible refutation of their cold and heartless theories. The bishop's heart was full; and never shall I forget the energy of his manner and the heavenly expressions of his countenance, when he exclaimed, as I assisted him to take off his robes, 'Gladly would I exchange years of common life for one such day as this!' Some time after he had retired to rest, while I was writing in my bed-room, which is next to his, he came back to me to renew the subject on which his thoughts were intensely fixed—and his often repeated expressions of wonder and thankfulness at the scenes of the past day, were followed by a fervent prayer for the people, for the clergy, and for himself."*

It was, indeed, impossible for any person intimately acquainted with the bishop, with the fervent character of his devotion, and with his anxiety for the spiritual welfare of his flock, to imagine a scene more calculated to excite all the energies of his mind, than that which he had so recently witnessed. It was a sight to interest even an ordinary spectator; too intensely, alas! did it work upon the highly wrought and sentient mind of him who witnessed it.

"*March 27th.*—The Bishop held a confirmation this morning in the Fort Church, at which there were twelve Europeans, and fifty native candidates. Mr. Kohloff preached in Tamul. His lordship signed the Syrian translation of his letter to Mar Philoxenus, and I dispatched it to the senior clergyman at Cotyam to be delivered. The missionaries and their families dined at the residency to meet the bishop, and at seven, after our evening

* Last days of Bishop Heber, p. 157.

drive, we attended a Tamul service, at Schwartz's Chapel, in the mission garden, when there were present nearly two hundred natives, and seven clergymen. He had received no previous intimation of this service, but the manner in which he seized on the opportunity thus unexpectedly offered of a visitation strictly missionary, was more touching and impressive than any previous preparation could have made it. He sate in his chair at the altar, (as he usually does in every church except the Cathedral,) and after the sermon, before he dismissed them with his blessing, he addressed both missionaries and people in a strain of earnest and affectionate exhortation which no ear that heard it can ever forget. We were standing on the graves of Schwartz and others of his fellow-labourers who are gone to their rest, and he alluded beautifully to this circumstance in his powerful and impressive charge. As this was probably the last time that he could hope to meet them again in public, he exhorted them to fidelity in their high office, to increasing diligence and zeal, to a more self-denying patience under privation, and neglect, and insult, looking for the recompense of reward; and lastly to more earnest prayer for themselves, and the souls committed to their trust, for the prince under whose mild and equal government they lived, and for him, their brother and fellow-servant. The address was short and very simple, but no study or ornament could have improved it. It was the spontaneous language of his own heart, and appealed at once to ours. The impression of it, I trust will never be effaced.

"Mr. Hyne, our medical attendant, has been for some days indisposed, and since our arrival here has grown rapidly worse. The bishop has particularly requested Captain Fyfe to allow him to be removed to a room adjoining his own, that it may be more in his power to attend him, particularly at night, than he could otherwise do; and even in the midst of his constant engagements here, he has snatched many intervals to sit with him, and read and pray by his bed side. He was twice with him in the course of last night.

"*March 28th.*—The bishop paid a visit of ceremony to the rajah, accompanied by the resident, and attended by all the clergy. We were received in full durbar, in the great Maha-

ratta hall, where the rajahs are enthroned. The scene was imposing, and from the number of Christian clergymen in the court of a Hindoo prince, somewhat singular: the address and manner of his highness are in a remarkable degree dignified and pleasing. The bishop sate on his right, the resident next to his son on the left, and the rest of the party on each side in order. He talked much of his 'dear father,' Schwartz, and three times told the bishop he hoped his lordship would resemble him, and stand in his room. Perhaps few things from the mouth of an Eastern prince, with whom compliment to the living is generally exaggerated, could show more strongly the sincerity of his affection for the friend he had lost.*

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* * * * He was his pupil from the time he was twelve years old, till he was twenty-four, and succeeded to the musnud the year after Schwartz died. 'And John Kohloff,' said he, 'is a good man, a very good man; we are old school fellows.' The bishop thanked him for his uniform kindness to his poor Christian subjects, and their teachers; he said it was but his duty, and he trusted all his subjects knew that he was their friend and protector. He thanked his lordship for his goodness in preaching to them in Tamul, (alluding to his having pronounced the blessing, and administered confirmation in that language,) and regretted it was not possible for him to attend. I understood afterwards from the resident, that he certainly would have done so, had the visits been exchanged before. He added, that the next time he visited Tanjore, he hoped he would be able to preach in Maharatta also. Hearing from the bishop that I came from Poonah, he asked me if I understood Maharatta, and talked with interest about that country of his ancestors, and especially of the events of the late war. Much of the

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* The editor has pleasure in mentioning, that a promise made by the rajah, of sending her husband a miniature of Schwartz, copied by a native from the original in his possession, was not forgotten, although *he* was gone to whom it was originally made. In the year 1827 he sent it to her. To those who are acquainted with the native character, this will appear another striking trait in the disposition of the prince, who would suffer neither absence nor death to efface from his mind the memory of those whom he revered.

conversation naturally turned on the pilgrimage which he had lately made to Benares; and the bishop's northern journey supplied him with many topics which were equally familiar to both. Upon his lordship's admiring the hall in which we were sitting, he showed considerable information on the subject of architecture, and the comparative excellencies and peculiarities of the Hindoo and Mussulman styles. At parting he requested the bishop to come again privately to see his library, museum, and printing press. On the whole, much as we had heard of this celebrated person, we found our anticipations had not been raised too high. Much, doubtless, of the interest excited before we saw him, sprung from the hallowing and endearing associations with the name of Schwartz, which in Heathen India, or the nations of Christendom must ever be

Magnum et venerabile nomen:

but his manners and conversation have many charms of themselves, unconnected with these circumstances; and the bishop said as we returned from the palace, 'I have seen many crowned heads, but not one whose deportment was more princely.'

"The rest of the morning was spent in various local arrangements, and communications with the missionaries; and hearing with surprise that no distinct petition had hitherto been offered, according to the apostolic injunction, in their public services for the prince under whose government they lived, he composed the prayer of which I send you a copy, and which he desired might be immediately translated into Tamul, and henceforth used in all the churches of the province.

"'Oh Lord God Almighty, Giver of all good things, we beseech Thee to receive into Thy bountiful protection Thy servant, his highness Maharajah Sarabojee, his family and descendants. Remember him, Oh Lord, for good, for the kindness which he hath shown to Thy church. Grant him in health and wealth long to live; preserve him from all evil and danger; grant that his son and his son's son may inherit honour, peace, and happiness; and grant, above all, to him and to them that peace

which the world cannot give—a knowledge of Thy truth here, and everlasting happiness hereafter, through thy Son Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*' "*

In his private book of devotions the bishop also mentions this prince when interceding with the Almighty in behalf of himself and of those by whom he was surrounded.†

"Oh Lord Jesus Christ, who, as at this time, didst burst the prison-house of the grave, and open to all that believe in thy name the gate of a glorious resurrection, let the light of thy truth, I beseech thee, shine on all that dwell in darkness. Have mercy on those Heathen who have shown kindness to thy Church, more especially on the rajah of this city. Grant him an abundant blessing on his remaining wealth and means of usefulness. Reward him in this world for the good deeds of his youth, and let his soul, above all, O Lord, be precious in thy sight, that the advantages which he has enjoyed may not increase his condemnation, but that he may be not only almost, but altogether a Christian, and believe in thee, to thy glory, O blessed Lord, and his own everlasting happiness!

"Bless, likewise, O Lord, all the potentates and former rulers, all the subjects and people of this land; that the loss of earthly dominion may be repaid by a heavenly heritage, and that they may have cause to rejoice in that dispensation of thy providence which hath made strangers to be lords over them.

"Bless all those with whom, in any part of India, I have my-

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* Last days of Bishop Heber, p. 152. 163.

† On Mr. Robinson's return to Tanjore, he thus wrote to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge:—"On my subsequent visit to Tanjore, after the sad event which deprived that mission of its best and most powerful friend, I requested a private audience of his highness, in which I told him that our excellent and admirable bishop, for whose death he is a most sincere mourner, had not only ordered public prayers to be offered for him and his family, (as our religion obliged us to do,) but that I had good reason to know that he frequently and earnestly remembered him in his private devotions. He was strongly affected with what I said, and received most kindly my request, that he would continue his patronage to the poor Christians, now especially when they had lost him who had recognised them as his children. He replied, 'I will always love those whom he loved, and whatever John Kohloff asks of me shall be done.' "

self had intercourse, or from whom I have received kindness, protection, or service. Bless, guide, and enlighten all who are inquiring after truth; and hasten the time, if it be Thy gracious will, when the knowledge of Thy name shall cover the world as the waters cover the sea.

"And, O my Father, my Master, my Saviour, and my King, unworthy and wicked as I am, reject me not as a polluted vessel; but so quicken me by thy Spirit from the death of sin, that I may walk in newness of life before Thee. Convert me, first, O Lord, that I may be a means in Thy hand of strengthening my brethren! Convert me that I may be blessed to the conversion of many. Yea, convert me, O Jesus, for mine own sin's sake, and the greatness of my undeserving before Thee, that I who need Thy mercy most, may find it in most abundance! Lord, I believe—help Thou mine unbelief! Lord, I repent—help Thou mine impenitence! Turn Thou me, O Lord, and so shall I be turned! Be favourable unto me and I shall live! And let what remaineth of my life be spent in Thy service, who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost now and for ever! *Amen.*"

At this time there were only two missionaries at Tanjore,* the elder of whom, Mr. Kohloff, had long been a most active and useful servant of Christ; but his age and increasing infirmities, rendered it but too probable that his services would soon be lost to his flock. "Of this venerable and excellent man," Mr. Robinson wrote "it is impossible to speak too highly; his simple and unaffected piety, his thorough acquaintance with the pure Tamul of the common people, and his accurate pronunciation of it; his great love for the natives, and their affectionate reverence for him, are all such as to make his life invaluable."† There were also but four native priests in this establishment, a number far too small for its duties. The bishop ex-

* Three missionaries have now (1830) been added to the number which were at that time appointed for the Madras presidency.

† In 1829 Mr. Robinson informed the editor that "the excellent old Kohloff was still living, but his infirmities were rapidly increasing, and he was able to take but a very small share in the duties of the mission."

pressed his intention of ordaining three others on his return to Madras, men who had been strongly recommended by the missionaries; and in a letter which he wrote to Mr. Kohloff, he desired him "to inform the native priests of the necessity which there was of their all fixing themselves at the different stations assigned to them, and that houses would be built for them at all those places where they did not already exist." The bishop had himself divided the mission into seven subordinate districts or parochial charges, with minor villages dependant on each; and to the four principal of these he assigned the services of the priests who were at that time in orders, fixing their salaries at the rate which the circumstances of the country, and their own respectability demanded; while the deacons, who were to superintend the minor districts, were to receive smaller allowances, till they were admitted into full orders. In fact there was not a single question brought before him, to which he did not give his attention and advice, adding, indeed, in many cases his personal assistance. For one rather extraordinary person, Wedanayga Sastry, the Christian poet of Tanjore, he purposed demanding an increase of salary from the society. This man possesses considerable genius, and is much beloved and respected both by Heathens and Christians; for many years he has devoted his talents to the moral improvement and amusement of the simple but intelligent people around him; and his works, which have been very useful in the schools, amounted, at that time, to nearly eighty volumes; while his moral and religious songs were universally sung at the social meetings of the natives, as well as at their public rejoicings.

The town of Madura, in the southern Carnatic, was considered by the bishop as an important place for the establishment of a missionary station. Besides a few Europeans, about sixty native Christians resided there, who had, at their own expense, built a temporary house for divine service, and it was his earnest wish to obtain funds for the erection of a mission church, and to place there a regularly ordained missionary. Among the memoranda which he drew up relative to the missions, he had assigned this station to Mr. De Melho, one of the resident missionaries in the college at Calcutta.

At Ramnud, a town also in the southern Carnatic, which once contained a neat Protestant church, built by Colonel Martin, but which is now in ruins, the bishop wished to place a native priest, not only on account of the Protestants residing there, whose numbers are considerable, but from some local circumstances which rendered the establishment of a regular Protestant ministry particularly desirable. From the town of Cape Comorin, a distance of about a hundred and twenty miles, the coast is inhabited by a tribe of fishermen called "Paroors," who are exclusively employed in the pearl fishery. Their number is supposed to be about ten thousand, all Roman Catholics, under the nominal government of a single priest, from Goa; but from whom they receive little or no instruction. These men are of a very respectable class, and the neglect with which they are treated by their own Church, led the bishop to believe, that not only would many of the Heathen be converted by the establishment of a regular Protestant mission, with its dependant schools, among them, but that a considerable portion of the Roman Catholic population might also be gained to our Church.

In the evening after the bishop's visit to the Rajah, Mr. Robinson continues "we had some excellent music at the residency, and the relaxation was as necessary to him as it was delightful; he enjoyed it exceedingly, and was particularly struck with the performance of two Bramins who accompanied Mrs. Fyfe in several difficult pieces, and afterwards played the overture in Sampson, *at sight*. But in the midst of his evident enjoyment of this intellectual luxury, his thoughts were fixed on higher and nobler objects of interest; and while all around him thought his ear only was employed, his heart was devising plans for the benefit of these neglected missions, and dwelling on the prospects of their success. I believe it is often thus, when he is most the delight and admiration of society. He called me to an inner drawing-room, to communicate a suggestion that had just occurred to him, and which he desired me to carry into effect. We were standing by an open window, looking out upon the garden over which the moon had just risen. I know not why I should tell you these trifling circumstances, but the scene with all its features will never be effaced from my recol-

lection. It is fixed forever in my remembrance by the powerful spell of his noble and heavenly spirit, and the memorable sentiment with which our conversation closed. I expressed my fears that his strength would be exhausted by this unwearied attention to all the varieties of his great charge: adding that I now understood the force of St. Paul's climax, 'That which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the Churches.' 'Yes,' he exclaimed with an energy worthy the apostle himself, 'but that which overwhelmed him was his crown and glory!'

"*March 29th.*—The rajah returned the bishop's visit in all his state. He rode on a very noble elephant with a common hunting howdah, covered with tiger skins. Other elephants that attended him had silver howdahs with more costly trappings. His two grandsons, very fine little boys, came with him, and seem great favourites at the residency. His Lordship begged the rajah to allow his son, a young man of eighteen, who has been proclaimed heir to the crown, to accompany him in his journey through the provinces, promising to instruct him in English as we travelled. He replied that he should accept the invitation with great gratitude, but with far greater if he would allow him also to accompany him in his return to Bengal, and spend some years under his lordship's superintendance. The bishop gladly assented to the proposition, and offered him either apartments in the palace, or to procure a house for him in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. The rajah said he would consult the rannee, who was so fond of this her only son, that he could determine nothing without her consent.* After the visit was concluded, I attended his lordship to the mission-house, where we spent six hours in close and earnest consultation on the resources and plans of this large and important district. Mr. Hyne's illness is more dangerous, and the bishop spent a great part of this evening in his room.

"*March 30th.*—The bishop paid a private visit to the rajah,

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* "This plan, which was so extraordinary a proof of the rajah's confidence, and promised so much benefit to the young prince and his future subjects, was relinquished on account of the rannee's objections, who had suffered so much anxiety from the illness of her son during his pilgrimage, that nothing would induce her to consent to so long an absence again."

who received us in his library, a noble room with three rows of pillars, and handsomely furnished in the English style. On one side there are portraits of the Maharatta dynasty from Shahjee and Sivajee; ten book-cases containing a very fair collection of French, English, German, Greek, and Latin books, and two others of Maharatta and Sanscrit manuscripts. In the adjoining room is an air-pump, an electrifying machine, an ivory skeleton, astronomical instruments, and several other cases of books, many of which are on the subject of medicine, which was for some years his favourite study. He showed us his valuable collection of coins, paintings of flowers, and natural history, with each of which he seemed to have considerable acquaintance, particularly with the medicinal virtues of the plants in his *hortus siccus*. When we took our leave, his minister showed us a noble statue of the rajah by Flaxman, which stands in the great hall which was used by the ancient Hindoo court before the conquest of the Maharattas. The pedestal is a remarkably large and fine slab of black granite, eighteen feet by sixteen and a half. His stables contain several fine English horses; but that of which he is most justly proud, as the rarest curiosity of an Indian court, is an English printing-press, worked by native Christians, in which they struck off a sentence in Maharatta in the bishop's presence in honour of his visit.

"On our return from the palace, we spent the rest of the day till four o'clock at the mission-house. Of the variety and multiplicity of the objects that have this morning come under the bishop's consideration, it is impossible to give you a detailed account."*

The few remaining days which the Bishop spent at Tanjore, were, in a great degree, appropriated to a minute examination of the state of its missions, their wants, their resources, and their power of extended usefulness. The dilapidated state of the Mission Church in Tanjore was one of the principal things to which his attention was called. He found that it was more advisable to build an entirely new one, and on a different spot, than to re-

* Last days of Bishop Heber, p. 163—166.

pair it; and notwithstanding the business by which he was oppressed, and the short time which the approaching hot season allowed him to give to each station, he drew a plan for the building, and fixed on the best place for its erection* himself. Among the measures which the bishop proposed for the improvement of the missions, was the establishment of a theological seminary, for the education of six natives for Holy Orders.† A new missionary-house had been built on the site of that formerly occupied by Schwartz, and which, together with some land, he had left at his death to the mission. The expensive scale on which this had been done, had burdened the missionaries with a debt which could not, in justice, be defrayed by this property; and it was the Bishop's intention to recommend the parent Society to pay half the debt, on condition, that a specified portion of the house should be appropriated to this theological seminary.

"We leave Tanjore with the sincerest regret, and with the strongest interest in a spot so favoured and so full of promise. The bishop has more than once observed to me, that instead of the usual danger of exaggerated reports and the expression of too sanguine hopes, the fault here was, that enough had not been said, and repeats his conviction, that the strength of the Christian cause in India is in these missions, and that it will be a grievous and heavy sin, if England and the agents of its bounty do not nourish and protect the churches here founded. He has seen the other parts of India and Ceylon, and he has rejoiced in the prospects opened of the extension of Christ's kingdom in many distant places, and by many different instruments; but he has seen nothing like the missions of the south, for these are the fields most ripe for the harvest.

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* The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge [illegible] the other suggestions made by the [illegible] The sum of 2000 was voted for [illegible] large [illegible] schools and houses [illegible] in other parts of southern India.

† This plan has under the auspices of the [illegible] Society [illegible] carried into execution. The seminary has been [illegible] the superintendance of Mr. Hawkins, a man whose extensive [illegible] and true missionary spirit [illegible] quality him for the office.

"Poor Mr. Hyne continues so ill that we are obliged to leave him behind us, and indeed scarcely a hope is entertained of his recovery. But he has become so much attached to the bishop in the course of the last week, that he cannot bear to relinquish the hope of rejoining him. His lordship has, therefore, promised to wait for him a few days at Trichinopoly, in case he should be able to resume his journey: but this is most improbable. I cannot help mentioning a beautiful instance of his piety and kindness, to which I was accidentally a witness this evening, as it exemplified so strongly his delight in the humblest duties of the pastoral office, and the characteristic modesty that seeks rather to conceal them from the observation of others, when no end of charity is answered by their being known. The carriage in which we were to travel the first stage of our evening march was at the door, and we were about to take leave of our kind and excellent hosts, when the bishop excused himself for a moment, saying he must snake hands once more with his poor friend before he left him. A few minutes after, going up stairs for a book which I had forgotten, and passing by Mr. Hyne's open door, I saw the dear bishop kneeling by his bed side, and his hands raised in prayer. You will not wonder that I should love this man, seeing him as I see him, fervent in secret and individual devotion, and at one hour the centre of many labours, the apostle of many nations, at another, snatching the last moments to kneel by the bed of a sick and dying friend,* who, but a fortnight ago, was a perfectest stranger to him."†

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The bishop arrived at Trichinopoly on the first of April, where he was kindly received by Mr. Bird, the judge of the circuit. He there found a Christian congregation of about four hundred and ninety natives under the care of a catechist, with one considerable English, and a small Tamil Church. Important as this mission was from its numbers, and the respectable character of its population, no European clergyman had been found to

* Mr. Hyne died on the 1st of April.

† Last Days of Bishop Heber, p. 176—178.

fulfil its duties since Mr. Rosen's removal to Cuddalore, in 1824; its funds did not exceed thirty rupees a month, a sum quite inadequate to its wants; its church was in a very dilapidated state, and the bishop had the grief of finding, that the congregation was rapidly decreasing in number from the want of a resident missionary, and of such an establishment of schoolmasters and catechists as its importance demanded.

PRIVATE.

To Captain J. Fyfe, &c. &c. &c. Residency, Tanjore.

Trichinopoly, April 1, 1826.

"My Dear Sir,

"Will you have the goodness to communicate, in any way which is most proper and usual, the purport of the enclosed letter to the Rajah Serboojee. It seems no more than right to make him some acknowledgment for his civilities. And though I have very little hope of his now sending his son to Calcutta, the advantage to the young man would be so great, that it is well to leave him an opening (in case of his changing his mind) to renew the negociation. I conclude that they are aware, or you will, perhaps, have the goodness to explain to them, that I neither expect, nor could, under any circumstances, receive any *remuneration* for the part which I might take in instructing him, —and that he would have his option either to occupy a part of my house rent free, or to hire one in the neighbourhood.

"To yourself and Mrs. Fyfe, for the kindness and hospitality which you have shown to us all, both in sickness and in health, —as well as the impression which your agreeable society has left on my mind,—what can I say more than I have already said, or to express all that I feel? God bless you both, and make you long happy in each other and in your children! I am sorry to say that we have another invalid in our party, poor Robinson being very far from well this morning.

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Ever most truly your's,

"Reginald Calcutta."

Trichinopoly April 1. 1826.

"My Dear Sir,

"May I request you to convey to his highness the Maha-Rajah of Tanjore, the expression of my best thanks for the kind and gratifying attentions with which his highness has honoured myself and my party during our visit to Tanjore, and the assurance that I shall, through life, continue to recollect with pleasure my introduction to the acquaintance of a prince so much distinguished by his virtues and talents, as well as by his courteous and condescending manners, and the variety of his accomplishments.

"I feel much flattered by the manner in which his highness has been pleased to speak of my offer to superintend the education of the prince Sewajee, in the event of his being willing to give me the pleasure of his company in my present tour, and afterwards to accompany me to Calcutta. I regret extremely, though I fully feel and appreciate the causes which render this arrangement, at present, impossible. But I beg you, at the same time, to state to his highness that, should the improved health of the prince, or a better season of the year, make her highness the rannee less reluctant to part with him for a time, it would be my study to make his stay in Calcutta as agreeable and useful to him as possible, both by directing his studies, and introducing him to the most distinguished society of the place; and that in health, and every other respect, I would take the same care of him as I should under similar circumstances, of a son of my own sovereign.

"I beg you, at the same time, to offer my best compliments and good wishes to his highness the prince Sewajee.

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Your obliged and faithful humble servant,

"Reginald Calcutta."

On Sunday the 2nd of April, the morning after his arrival, the bishop preached at the government church, as Mr. Robinson assured the editor, with his usual animation and energy, and without any appearance of languor or incipient disease. In the

afternoon he confirmed forty-two persons, and afterwards addressed them with even more than his wonted earnest and affectionate manner. On his return to Mr. Bird's house after service, he complained, for the first time, of a slight head ache and feeling of languor; and though there was nothing either in his appearance or manner to occasion uneasiness in those about him, or to justify their entreaties that he would suspend his exertions, yet as the day had been unusually hot, Mr. Robinson dissuaded him from attending the native congregation, as he had intended doing that evening, and also requested him to give up his examination of the schools on the following morning after divine service.

"He exerted himself greatly in both services, more perhaps than was necessary, and complained that the church was very difficult for the voice to fill, and the pulpit raised too high. He has been oppressed the whole day by the intense heat of the weather, and anxious, in consequence of unfavourable accounts from Calcutta. On returning from church in the morning, I was so ill as to be obliged to go to bed, and with his usual affectionate consideration, he came and sate the greater part of the afternoon with me. He read me a letter he had written to Mr. Fenn, at Cotyam, on hearing that Mar Athanasius had actually left the country, but I was too ill to copy it for him. Its general tenor was to approve the entire neutrality with which he informed him the missionaries had acted; and, as matters now stood, to recommend the church in Malabar to write by the hand of their bishops to the Patriarch of Antioch, relating the events connected with the visit of his legate, and entreating him in his choice of future metropolitans, to have especial regard to gentleness and moderation of character. Our conversation this afternoon turned chiefly on the blessedness of heaven, and the best means of preparing for its enjoyment. He repeated several lines of an old hymn, which he said, in spite of one or two expressions which familiar and injudicious use had tended to vulgarize, he admired, as one of the most beautiful in our language, for a rich and elevated tone of devotional feeling.

"Head of the Church triumphant!
We joyfully adore thee,"—&c

In the family prayers this evening, after we returned from church, he particularly mentioned our friend Mr. Hyne, whom he told us he had promised at parting that he would *then* always remember."*

At day-break on the fatal 3d of April, he went to the mission church in the fort, where service was performed in the Tamul language; after which he confirmed fifteen natives in their own language, and again delivered his address on confirmation. He afterwards went to the mission house and examined into the state of the schools, though without staying in the school room, as he found it close and disagreeable from having been shut up the preceding day, and left it immediately. He then received an address from the poor Christians, earnestly praying that he would send them a pastor to watch over and instruct them. His answer was given with that gentleness and kindness of heart which never failed to win the affections of all who heard him, promising that he would take immediate measures to provide them with a spiritual guide. He had, indeed, before he received this application, resolved on appointing Mr. Schreivogel, a Danish missionary who had petitioned, under rather singular circumstances, for a removal from Tranquebar to Vepery or Trichinopoly, to this station. From all that the bishop had heard of his private character, and of the esteem in which he was held by his own flock, in the Danish mission, as well as from personal intercourse with him, he thought that he could not better supply the wants of this important station than by committing it to his superintendance.†

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* Last Days of Bishop Heber, p. 179, 180.

† This appointment has since been confirmed. In 1829, Mr. Robinson, then archdeacon of Madras, wrote thus to the editor:—"Trichinopoly is excellently superintended by Mr. Schreivogel, the circumstances of whose appointment you know. It was the last wish expressed by your beloved husband, and his diligence and exemplary conduct show that his character was correctly appreciated. The poor Christians there will long have reason to bless his memory for securing them so good a pastor. Where, indeed, was he ever known, that the people will not hold him in grateful and affectionate remembrance? Three new schools are now building at Trichinopoly by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The mission church is completely finished, new almost from the foundation, but still requires pews, which I hope to prevail on government to give us."

The bishop had gone to the fort in a close carriage, so that he could have sustained no injury from the sun; Mr. Robinson was too ill to leave his bed, but he was accompanied by Mr. Doran, and conversed with him both going and returning with animation and earnestness, on the important duties of missionaries, and on the state of Christianity in the south of India. On his arrival at Mr. Bird's house, before he took off his robes, he went into Mr. Robinson's room, and sitting down by his bed side, entered with energy into the concerns of the mission. His interest had been much excited by all which he had seen; he spoke with sorrow of its poverty, and remarked how necessary it was for the bishop to have regular reports from every mission in India, that he might, at least, know the wants and necessities of all. He said he had seen nothing in the whole of his diocese that so powerfully interested him, and his mental excitement was such that he showed no appearance of bodily exhaustion. He then retired into his own room, and according to his invariable custom, wrote on the back of the address on confirmation, "Trichinopoly, April 3, 1826." This was his last act, for immediately on taking off his clothes he went into a large cold bath, where he had bathed the two preceding mornings, but which was now the destined agent of his removal to Paradise! Half an hour after, his servant, alarmed at his long absence, entered the room and found him a lifeless corpse! Every means to restore animation, which human skill or friendship could suggest, were resorted to, but the vital spark was extinguished, and his blessed spirit had then entered on its career of immortality, and perhaps was at that moment looking down with fond pity on the exertions of those who would fain have recalled it to its earthly habitation, to endure again the trials and temptations of the world it had quitted. And, surely, if ever sudden death were desirable, it must be under such circumstances. With a heart full of love towards God and zeal for His service, and of that charity and good will towards mankind which are its certain accompaniments, having just officiated in his sacred office, listened with kindness to the wants of his poor brethren, and detailed some of his plans for their relief, he was called to receive his reward. He had scarcely ceased from glorifying

God in his mortal state, when he was summoned to join in that angelic chorus of praise and thanksgiving, whose voices fill heaven in honour of their Maker and Redeemer.

Blessed, thrice blessed, indeed, is the servant who, when his Lord cometh, is found thus prepared!

It were a useless, and a deeply painful task to enter into any detail of the apparent cause of his death: it is sufficient to say that disease had, unsuspected, been existing for some time; and that it was the opinion of all the medical men in attendance, that under no circumstances could his invaluable life have been very long preserved, though the event was undoubtedly hastened by the effects of climate, by intense mental application to those duties which increased in interest with every step he took, and was finally caused by the effects of cold on a frame exhausted by heat and fatigue.* His mortal remains were attended to the grave with the highest honours, and followed by the tears of the inhabitants of Trichinopoly. They rest on the north side of the altar in St. John's Church.†

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* The following sketch was written by an eminent medical man in Calcutta, who knew the bishop well, and had occasionally attended him in illness. "Contemplating, therefore, the splendid talents and ever-active energies of this beloved prelate, who knew no rest during his waking hours; for what to other men had been labour, was to him, repose; I cannot doubt that he was prone to dangerous disturbance of the nervous system, and although but for the last sad accident, his life might have been spared for some period, the cause of death, originally implanted in his constitution, strengthened by an unhealthy climate, and daily nourished by his natural habits, must soon have reached its fulfilment. It might have reached it under circumstances more terrible to himself, and more heart breaking to his friends; they might have witnessed the wreck of a mind conscious of its ruin. For such, alas! is the price which exalted intelligence sometimes pays for its pre-eminent gifts. He was cut off by a sudden and merciful stroke; it is true in the prime of life, but also in the meridian of his reputation and Christian utility, leaving behind him no recollection but of his amiable manner, his sweetness of temper, his goodness of heart, his universal charity, his splendid and various talents, and all his deep devotion to the duties of his sacred calling."

† In a letter to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in which Mr. Robinson detailed the plans with which the bishop had entrusted him, he thus expresses himself on the deep feeling excited by his loss. "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, will have participated largely in the feeling of universal sorrow on the sudden removal of our excellent and admirable bishop from this field of his earthly labours. And when they learn that their missions in the south of India were his last and most anxious care; that being then engaged in his visitation of the pe-

[illegible] the last weeks of his invaluable life had been employed with unremitting activity in a minute investigation of their actual state, and [illegible] new plans for their future welfare and extended operation, they will feel, I [illegible] that their share in the general loss is great indeed. There is hardly a [illegible] vast empire where he was not known; [illegible] where his name was [illegible]; but in no province is his loss [illegible] whom witnessed his last labours among the [illegible] and [illegible] the native Christians of [illegible] and Trichinopoly.

"In my return to the former [illegible] the [illegible] event I have seen much of that interesting [illegible] I have never witnessed [illegible] unaffected sorrow which [illegible] father. His kind [illegible] recognition of [illegible] the blessing [illegible] him in their [illegible] of him [illegible] only of personal regard to him [illegible] in him the acknowledged [illegible] venerable society had [illegible] and the people [illegible] nestness [illegible] and support [illegible]

The [illegible] transferred to the [illegible]

APPENDIX

TO VOLUME II.

APPENDIX.

Nothing remains of the task which the editor has undertaken, but to record, with feelings of mingled sorrow and gratification, the testimonies borne to her husband's many virtues, and to the regret with which the tidings of his early death were received, not only in countries where he was personally known, and by those who had lived within the influence of his example, but in every part of the world where the knowledge of his name and of his character had extended.

His funeral on the 4th of April, was attended by the soldiers who were then quartered at Trichinopoly under the command of Major General Hall, who also, to do further honour to his memory, and to prove how deep was the grief felt by his loss, ordered that the officers of the regiments should wear mourning for a month from that day. Minute guns were fired corresponding with his age, and cannon were discharged, when the melancholy service was ended near his grave. The road was crowded by Heathen and Christian natives, all anxious to give the last proofs of affection for one whom they had learnt to consider as their benefactor and friend. Mr. Robinson performed the sad service over his beloved friend's remains, and, as he informed the editor, the tears and sobs of the crowd around him, added to the effects of his own feelings, frequently interrupted him as he proceeded.

The eloquent sermon preached on the Sunday after the funeral, by Mr. Robinson, is already well know to the public. That the affecting appeal which he then made to the congregation, on behalf of the mission, the interests of which had occupied the last moments of him whom they all mourned, was not made in vain, is evident from the transactions which took place on the following morning.

At a Meeting of the inhabitants of Trichinopoly, on Monday the 10th of April, 1826.

MAJOR GENERAL HALL IN THE CHAIR:

It was resolved,

I.—"That this meeting, desirous of testifying their affectionate regard and veneration for the memory of the late lamented Lord Bishop of Calcutta, do enter into a subscription in aid of the Trichinopoly mission, whose interests engaged the last hours of his lordship's life.

II.—"That this fund be intrusted to a committee of management, consisting of the general of the division, the commanding officer of Trichinopoly, one of the three judges of the circuit court, the collector of the district, the chaplain and missionary, (provided the gentlemen filling these situations are willing to undertake the charge,) and seven other members, to be chosen by the subscribers at large at their general meetings. It is necessary that it be distinctly understood that the committee merely act as trustees for the right application of the funds, without exerting any interference in the internal economy of the mission.

III.—"That the reverend missionaries of Tanjore be requested to suggest, from time to time, the best means for supporting the existing mission at Trichinopoly, until a missionary be regularly appointed to this latter station.

IV.—"That the office of Patron to the *Trichinopoly Mission Fund* be reserved vacant, and that the succeeding bishop of Calcutta, on his arrival in India, be requested to fill it, and that the venerable Archdeacon of Madras be requested to accept the office of vice-patron.

V.—"That books be immediately opened for donations and subscriptions, and that the chaplains be requested to receive the sums subscribed, until the committee have prevailed upon one of their members to take the office of treasurer.

VI.—"That the Reverend Thomas Robinson be requested to present these resolutions to the venerable the archdeacon of Calcutta, and to state, as he can from his own personal knowledge, the urgent need in which the mission stands of a regularly ordained and resident missionary, and that the archdeacon will endeavour to grant one as early as possible.

VII.—"That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be respectfully submitted to the Honourable the Governor in Council, for his information and approval; and that the aid of government be solicited for carrying into effect the intentions of our late revered prelate, the funds of the present mission being at their lowest ebb.

VIII.—"That the chaplain be requested to accept the office of Secretary to the *Trichinopoly Mission Fund*, pro tempore.

IX.—"That the thanks of this meeting be voted to Major General Hall, for his kind and conciliatory conduct in the chair.

"(signed) JOSEPH WRIGHT,
"Secretary."

On this application being received by the Madras government, orders were given for carrying the bishop's wishes into effect. The mission church was, at that time, repaired, and has since been rebuilt from the foundation. The money collected at the meeting was sufficient to preclude any apprehension for the future welfare of this mission; and the alteration which took place in its circumstances is a remarkable proof

of the benefits which, even after death, the virtues of a good man confer on all who come within their influence.

The government of Madras also ordered a marble to be placed over his grave, and a mural tablet to be erected to his memory in St. John's church at Trichinopoly, with the following inscription:

Sacred
to the memory of
REGINALD HEBER, D.D.
Lord Bishop of Calcutta,
who was here
suddenly called to his eternal rest
during his visitation
of the southern provinces
of his extensive diocese
on the 3d of April,
A.D. MDCCCXXVI.

"Be ye also ready."

To David Hill, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George.

Tanjore, April 1, 1826.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the honourable the governor in council, that the Lord Bishop of Calcutta left this for Trichinopoly last night.

"The lord bishop visited the rajah on the 28th ultimo, and was received in full durbar, with all the marks of respect suitable to his elevated rank and sacred character. On the 29th the rajah returned the visit; and on the 30th, his lordship paid a private visit to the rajah of several hours.

"The rajah's character seems to have excited a good deal of interest in the lord bishop. His lordship very kindly offered, with the assistance of his chaplain, to undertake the instruction of the rajah's son, in various branches of English literature and science: but though the rajah and his son are very highly gratified, and flattered by such a striking proof of his kindness and condescension, and the rajah himself, more particularly, is fully sensible of the inestimable advantages which his son would derive from the society and instruction of a person of the lord bishop's shining abilities, and extensive acquirements, there are, unfortunately, insuperable objections to the arrangement. The young man's mother will on no account consent to it. 'He is,' she says, 'her

darling and only son, and nothing but death shall ever separate them. When she went on her pilgrimage to Benares, and left him at Tanjore, she was near losing him, and no persuasion on earth shall ever again induce her to part from him.' I foresaw this decision. It was not to be expected that an affectionate mother would sacrifice her own feelings for advantages which she cannot be supposed capable of fully appreciating.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"JOHN FYFE, *Resident.*"

To David Hill, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George.

Tanjore, April 3, 1826.

"SIR,

"I have already informed the government of the gratification which the rajah derived from the kind and disinterested proposal of the late Bishop Heber to superintend the education of his son. His highness was very sensibly affected by this and other instances of attention and consideration which he received from his lordship, and as a testimony of respect for his memory, has subscribed a thousand rupees to his monument.

"This spontaneous tribute of admiration and esteem, is another gratifying proof that the extraordinary fascination of the bishop's character extended over every person who came within the sphere of its influence.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"JOHN FYFE, *Resident.*

"The rajah intended to have erected a magnificent monument to the bishop, entirely at his own expense. This was before he had heard that the public had resolved to pay such a well-earned tribute to his memory.

"J. F."

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Inhabitants of Madras, held at the Government Gardens, on Wednesday, the 12th of April, 1826;

THE HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS MUNRO, BART. K. C. B. IN THE CHAIR.

Sir Thomas Munro, on taking the chair, addressed the meeting as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN,

"We must all deeply lament the melancholy cause of our being now assembled here. My own acquaintance with our late excellent bishop was, unfortunately, but of short duration; yet, in that short time,

I saw in him so much to admire, that I can hardly trust myself to speak of him as I could wish. There was a charm in his conversation, by which, in private society, he found his way to all hearts, as readily as he did to those of his congregation when he was in the pulpit. There was about him such candour and simplicity of manners, such benevolence, such unwearied earnestness in the discharge of his sacred functions, and such mildness in his zeal, as would, in any other individual, have ensured our esteem. But when these qualities are, as they were in him, united to taste, to genius, to high station, and to still higher intellectual attainments, they form a character such as his was, eminently calculated to excite our love and veneration. These sentiments towards him were every where felt; wherever he passed, in the wide range of his visitation, he left behind him the same impression. He left all who approached him convinced that they never had before seen so rarely gifted a person, and that they could never hope to see such a one again. The loss of such a man, so suddenly cut off in the midst of his useful career, is a public calamity, and ought to be followed by an expression of the public feeling."

Sir Ralph Palmer, in moving the first resolution, spoke as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN,

"The Honourable Chairman having stated the object for which we are assembled, and requested such of us as are prepared with any proposition which they think will accord with the sincere view of the meeting, now to state it, I shall, with his permission, beg leave to offer one resolution to your notice, which I am persuaded will meet with your unanimous concurrence.

"Before, however, I do so, I hope it may not be considered as intrusion on my part, or as improperly retarding the expression of your sentiments, if, in addition to what has been already so feelingly addressed to you from the Chair, I too should express one word of sorrow upon the present melancholy occasion;—sorrow, not for the sake of him, whose loss we are lamenting; for to him, whose life was full of good works—whose heart was devoted to his God—whose faith was pure—and whose hope was sincere—to him, as has been said in another and more sacred place, "to die was gain;" but sorrow for those who, from the experience of the past, feel what they are deprived of for the future; those who were united to him in blood, or bound to him in friendship; those who, like myself, can trace back the remembrance of him to the period when, in that university of which he was one of the brightest ornaments, the brilliancy of his early genius drew forth from a crowded assemblage of learning and wisdom, reiterated plaudits, and afforded a sure presage of those splendid talents which, if they had not quite attained, were now fast ripening into perfection: those, in short, who, whether in Europe or in Asia, had the happiness and the honour too of

being admitted into his social circle, and derived no less advantage from the information which the universality of his acquirements enabled him to afford, than pleasure and delight from the easy, the affable, the gay, the unassuming manner with which that information was always so freely imparted: for his was not the religion of the ascetic—his was not the learning of the recluse. For friends who thus knew and loved him, surely the tear of sorrow may be shed. But is it for such as these only? Is it upon private friendship alone that the appalling stroke of death has now inflicted a grievous wound? Alas! it is not.

'Hush'd be the voice of private woe,
The public bleeds ————'

It bleeds, indeed. When we think of what that good man has done, what he was doing, and what, under the blessings of Providence, it might have been hoped he would have been enabled to achieve; when we remember the many charitable and religious institutions which, fostered by his care, aided by his munificence, and guided by his counsel, were progressively answering more and more the ends for which they were established:—

"When we saw him labouring in the great work which he had undertaken, with a zeal not less conspicuous for the ardour with which it was prosecuted, than for the suavity and conciliation with which it was tempered:—

"When we hear of him, to his last admiring congregation, and almost with his very latest breath, exhorting 'brotherly love to all, without distinction of rank, caste, or colour:—'

"When we, who so recently were eye-witnesses of his conduct, and hearers of his words, and can, therefore, well appreciate the effect, which the labours and doctrines of such a man were likely to produce; when we see, and hear, and think of these things, may we not say that this man was, above all others, the best calculated to succeed in the great undertaking about which he was employed?—

"May we not say, that through the instrumentality of such a man, the rays of Christianity, at length, bade fair to spread their cheering and glorious light far and wide throughout the continent and islands of India?—

"Must we not feel that, grievous and sad as is the privation which this sudden and lamented event will occasion to all who knew and loved him dearly, yet, that it is but as a feather in the scale; it is but as a bubble in the air; it is but as a drop in the waters, when compared with the incalculable loss which, by it, the cause of humanity and of religion has sustained.

"Without trespassing, then, further, Sir, on your patience, upon this

melancholy occasion, I shall beg leave to propose, as a resolution to be adopted by this meeting,—

"That, as the character of the late Bishop Heber was regarded with universal love and veneration, and his life was of inestimable value, from the works of piety and benevolence which were, in a great measure, dependant on it, and which were prosecuted with ardour, and with the happiest effect, to the very hour of its termination, so his death has excited the deepest feeling of grief in this settlement, and is esteemed by the present meeting a calamity to the cause of religion and virtue."

The Venerable Archdeacon Vaughan seconded the resolution.

On the motion of Lieutenant-General Sir George Walker, G. C. B. it was.

"Resolved,—That, in order to perpetuate the sentiments entertained by this settlement towards the late beloved and revered bishop, a monument be erected to his memory in St. George's Church; and that the Reverend Thomas Robinson, the domestic chaplain and esteemed friend of the bishop be requested to prepare the inscription."

Upon the second resolution being proposed, Sir Robert Comyn said—

"SIR,

"I beg to second this resolution. The extraordinary merits of the late bishop's public and private life have been so lately witnessed by all who hear me, and have just now been so feelingly and so eloquently dwelt upon by the honourable the chairman and my friend Sir Ralph Palmer, that I should deem any further allusion to them an inexcusable detention of this meeting; I will only say, that I am most sincerely convinced that there never was a human being who, in so short a space of time inspired so universal a sentiment of attachment and veneration.

"It cannot but be, therefore, a melancholy satisfaction to us all to raise a memorial which may perpetuate our feeling towards the late bishop, and our intense grief at his lamentable and irreparable loss; his fame, indeed, requires no such perpetuation; the noble devotion of his exalted genius to the high callings of his office has raised for him an imperishable monument; but it is, perhaps, a duty we owe to ourselves to convince those who may hereafter succeed to these shores, that we did not close our eyes to that light which has shone with such brilliancy among us.

"I need not add, Sir, that in selecting a hand which shall inscribe the marble with our sentiments, it is impossible to fix upon one more fit than Mr. Robinson's. His high attainments and great regard and friendship for the bishop, ensure the language of truth and feeling in every way worthy the occasion."

The honourable Mr. Graeme begged leave to propose,

"That a subscription be opened for the purpose of carrying the last resolution (that proposed by Sir G. Walker) into effect; and that any surplus fund be appropriated in the manner best calculated to do honour to Bishop Heber's memory.

"The respect," Mr. Graeme said, "in which our benevolent bishop was held, and the grief of his premature loss were so universal, that it seemed desirable that no individual should be without the opportunity of testifying them according to his means, and he would, therefore, beg to suggest that no minimum should be fixed for the subscription."

Sir George Ricketts, in seconding this resolution, expressed himself in the following terms:

"I beg leave, Sir, to second the resolution, and I have to request all those who now hear me to understand, and to make it generally understood, that it is intended, that the amount of the subscriptions shall not be regulated by the probable expense of the monument which is to be raised, but that it shall be unlimited in its amount; and the resolution, therefore, provides that the surplus fund, which may remain after discharging the expense of the monument, shall be appropriated in the manner best calculated to do honour to the late bishop's memory.

"It would be premature now to suggest any particular mode of appropriating that surplus, but it will readily occur to the mind of every one, and will, I think, be as readily assented to, that to appropriate it to the furtherance of that great cause, for which the late bishop only lived and in which he died, would, if he is permitted to be sensible of what is passing here on earth, and to derive any gratification from it, gratify him more than the most splendid monument that art and wealth could erect to his memory. It is also intended that the subscription shall not only be unlimited in its amount, but shall also be as universal as possible throughout this presidency; and that every person, however low and poor he may be, who may wish to join in rendering honour to the late bishop's memory, shall be admitted to subscribe the smallest sum. Those who knew the late bishop will, I am sure, be satisfied, that to one of his mind and feelings, the most grateful tribute which could be offered to him, would be that which, however small it might be, would be rendered by the lowly and poor, by those to whom the light of Christianity is new, and who would thus testify their sense of the blessings of it, and their veneration for that church of which he was lately the head in this part of the world. The highest honour that can be rendered to him, will be not so much in the costliness and magnificence of the monument, which may be raised to him, as in the numbers of those who shall contribute to raise it. It should be, like those sepulchral

cairns, which were heaped, in former times, upon the graves of the illustrious dead, by every individual of the country laying a stone upon them; and every person within this presidency, high and low, rich and poor, European and Indian, who venerates that religion of which the late excellent bishop was one of the brighest ornaments and best supporters, should have the gratification of being able to say, 'I, too, have contributed a stone to his monument.'"

On the motion of Lieutenant Colonel Conway, it was resolved,

"That a committee of management be appointed, consisting of the following persons:

Sir Ralph Palmer,
The Hon. Mr. Graeme,
Sir R. Comyn,
Sir G. Ricketts,
The Venerable Archd. Vaughan,
Lieut. Col. H. G. A. Taylor,
D. Hill, Esq.
Lieut. Col. Agnew,
R. Clive, Esq.
Captain Keighly,
Rev. R. A. Denton,
Captain Sim,
P. Cator, Esq.
Seth Sam, Esq.
W. Scott, Esq.
Lieut. Col. Stewart,
The Rev. W. Roy,
The Rev. W. Moorsom,
J. Gwatkin, Esq.

"And that the Rev. W. Roy and the Rev. W. Moorsom be requested to officiate as secretaries, and Mr. Gwatkin as treasurer."

Mr. Hill, in seconding this resolution spoke as follows:

"I beg leave to second the motion. My own name is included in the list which has been read, and I shall derive a sincere, though melancholy, gratification from testifying, by any means in my power, the veneration and affection which I entertained for the late bishop. I shall make it a matter of conscience to acquit myself of any trust which may be confided to me for the purpose of doing honour to his memory; and I take the liberty of proposing that the name of Col. Conway be added to the list of the committee."

On the motion of Sir Ralph Palmer, it was resolved,

"That the thanks of the meeting be presented to Sir Thomas Munro, for his kindness in acceding to the request made to him, that he should preside on the present occasion, when the community were anxious that their sentiments should be embodied in the manner most honourable to the memory of the late bishop."

The Rev. William Roy rose and spoke as follows:

"The duty of seconding the resolution which has just been read to you devolves on me; and although it is a resolution which you are, doubtless, prepared to pass by acclamation, were such an expression suitable at such a season—a resolution embracing our united sentiments of cordial acknowledgment, yet I cannot refrain from adding a few words of address to the distinguished personage who has condescended to preside at our meeting.

"As a man, I do but faintly express the feelings of this numerous, but respectable assembly, when I assure the honourable gentleman, that the kindness which he has evinced in taking the chair on this mournful occasion, has poured the balm of consolation into our afflicted spirits. But as a minister of the gospel, (using the term in its most extensive meaning,) I may be permitted to add in the name of my brethren and myself, that, long as we shall have reason to deplore the loss which the cause of divine truth and humanity has sustained, so long shall we remember, with feelings of respect and gratitude, the honour which the head of the government has this day shown to the memory of him, who was the zealous friend, the affectionate brother of each and every the humblest labourer in the same vineyard as himself, our revered, our beloved bishop."

The sum of nearly thirty thousand rupees was subscribed almost immediately, for the monument; and, as has been previously mentioned, the name of the rajah of Tanjore appeared among those of the subscribers, for a very considerable sum.

The resolutions passed at this meeting were conveyed to the editor through Mr. Robinson, to whom the following letter was addressed by the secretaries:

To the Rev. Thomas Robinson, Domestic Chaplain to the late Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

"Reverend and Dear Sir,

"In conformity with the annexed resolution of the committee of management for erecting a monument to the memory of Bishop Heber, the accompanying book, which contains the proceedings at a meeting of the inhabitants of Madras on the 12th of April, 1826, has been prepared for the purpose of being presented to Mrs. Heber; and the interest which this record will doubtless excite, may be increased on its being known that the writing is from the pen of a candidate for admission into Bishop's College, and that the binding is the workmanship of the

Vepery mission establishment of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

"We have the honour to remain,
"Reverend and dear Sir,
"Your most obedient and faithful servants,
"WILLIAM ROY,
"R. W. MOORSOM, } Secretaries."

The monument, the work of Mr. Chantrey, is now completed. The inscription, written by the Reverend Thomas Robinson, since Archdeacon of Madras, is as follows:

M. S.
Viri admodum Reverendi, et in Christo Patris,
REGINALDI HEBER, S. T. P.
Episcopi Calcuttensis;
Qui ab ipsâ statim adolescentiâ,
Ingenii famâ, Humanitatis cultu,
Omnigenâque Doctrinæ laude ornatissimus,
Se suaque Deo humillimè consecravit.
In sanctissimum Episcopatus ordinem adscriptus,
Ecclesiæ apud Indos Anglicanæ infantiam
Usque ad vitæ jacturam, aluit, fovit, sustentavit.
Admirabili ingenii candore,
Suavissimâ morum simplicitate,
Divinâque animi benevolentiâ,
Usque adeo omnes sibi devinxerat,
Ut Ecclesia universa Patrem,
Ethnici Patronum carissimum desiderarent.
Subita morte præreptus,
Juxta Urbem Trichinopolim,
Mortales Exuvias deposuit, Aprilis die III.
Anno Salutis MDCCCXXVI, Ætatis XLIII,
Episcopatus III.
Madrasenses, non solum Christiani
Sed et Ethnici,
Principes, Magnates, Pauperes,
Ad hoc marmor extruendum
Uno consensu adfuerunt.

CALCUTTA.

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Fort William, April 11, 1826

"The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council has received the painful intelligence of the sudden death of the Right Reverend Reginald, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, on the 3d instant, at Trichinopoly.

"This distressing event having occurred at a distance from Calcutta, his lordship in council has not, as on a former melancholy occasion, to invite the community to join in paying the last solemn honours to the deceased prelate; but he entertains the conviction, that every individual acquainted with the learning and worth of Bishop Heber, will participate in the deep and heart-felt sorrow of the government, at the loss of one who was endeared to this society by his engaging manners, extensive benevolence, and unaffected piety.

"The late bishop had recently finished a long and laborious visitation through the territories of Bengal and Bombay, during which he had secured the good will and veneration of all classes with whom he had communication, by his gentle and unassuming demeanour, and had proceeded to the provinces under Fort St. George, in order to complete this important branch of his episcopal duty, when a sudden and awful dispensation deprived Christianity of one of its most enlightened, most ardent, and most amiable ministers.

"The Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct, that minute guns, to the number of forty-two, corresponding with the age of the deceased bishop, be fired this evening, at sun-set, from the ramparts of Fort William.

"By command of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council,

"C. Lushington,
"*Chief Secretary to Government.*"

At a Meeting held in the Vestry of the Cathedral, April 26, 1826.

PRESENT :

Rev. Archdeacon Corrie,	Rev. C. Wimberly,
Rev. W. Bates, Senior Chaplain.	Rev. J. Wilson,
Rev. Dr. Young, Junior Chaplain.	Rev. T. Riechardt,
Rev. Thomas Robertson,	Rev. Principal Mill,
Rev. J. W. Crawford,	Rev. Professor Craven,
Rev. P. Goode,	Rev. Professor Holmes.

" Resolved that the present meeting deeply laments the afflictive dispensation by which the country in general, and the Established Church in particular, has been deprived of the paternal superintendance and active care of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

" That the meeting tenderly sympathizes with the family of the lamented bishop under this great bereavement, knowing, from their own experience of his kindness and brotherly interest in their concerns individually, how great must be their affliction in losing so endeared a relative.

" That from the high consideration in which the character of their late diocesan was generally held, the present meeting abstain from taking any separate steps towards any public and permanent mark of respect to the memory of their beloved bishop, well persuaded that the willingness to join in some such testimony will be universally manifested, if opportunity be afforded.

" With a view to afford such opportunity, agreed, that the Archdeacon, the Principal of Bishop's College, the senior and junior Presidency Chaplains, be deputed to wait upon the Chief Justice, to request that he will have the goodness, if he approves of the measure, to call a public meeting on some early day.

" The Chief Justice received the deputation with the utmost kindness, and engaged to consult with the judges and members of council, in order to the fixing of an early day for a public meeting.

" Daniel Corrie."

MEETING AT THE TOWN HALL,

May 11, 1826.

" Pursuant to a requisition to the sheriff, a meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta was convened at the Town Hall, on Saturday last, for the purpose of considering the most appropriate mode of recording the sentiments of esteem and veneration, entertained by this community for the late Bishop Heber.

"The sheriff having stated the object of the meeting, on the motion of the Right Honourable Lord Combermere, Sir Charles Edward Grey was unanimously called to the chair, who addressed the meeting in the following impressive, eloquent, and energetic language:—

"GENTLEMEN,

"Before I proceed to any thing else I am reluctantly compelled to correct a seeming mistake, as to the object of this meeting. A notice has appeared this morning, professedly by authority, which, though probably well meant, has in it something too much of the character of solicitation. I know not of what authority it speaks, but the friends of the late bishop are anxious only, that expression should be given to the feeling with which the community regarded him; subscriptions for his monument, if they are the spontaneous indications of respect and sorrow, will be valuable testimonies, but not otherwise; and I trust that neither solicitation nor influence will be employed to swell their amount. Leaving this matter, it is with real agitation and embarrassment that I find it my duty to mark out the grounds, on which this meeting appears to me to have been called for; assuredly it is not that there is any difficulty in finding those grounds, nor that I have any apprehension that you will not attend to a statement of them with willingness and indulgence. But this is a very public occasion, and my feelings are not entirely of a public nature. Deep as my sense is of the loss which the community has sustained, yet do what I will, the sensation which I find uppermost in my heart, is my own private sorrow for one who was my friend in early life. It is just four-and-twenty years, this month, since I first became acquainted with him at the University, of which he was, beyond all question or comparison, the most distinguished student of his time. The name of Reginald Heber was in every mouth; his society was courted by young and old; he lived in an atmosphere of favour, admiration, and regard, from which I have never known any one but himself who would not have derived, and for life, an unsalutary influence. Towards the close of his academical career, he crowned his previous honours by the production of his 'Palestine;' of which single work, the fancy, the elegance, and the grace have secured him a place in the list of those who bear the proud title of English poets. This, according to usage, was recited in public; and when that scene of his early triumph comes upon my memory, that elevated rostrum from which he looked upon friendly and admiring faces; that decorated theatre; those grave forms of ecclesiastical dignitaries, mingling with a resplendent throng of rank and beauty; those antique mansions of learning, those venerable groves, those refreshing streams, and shaded walks; the vision is broken by another, in which the youthful and presiding genius of the former scene is beheld, lying in his distant

grave, amongst the sands of Southern India,— believe me the contrast is striking, and the recollection most painful.

"But you are not here to listen to details of private life. If I touch upon one or two other points, it will be for the purpose only of illustrating some features of his character. He passed some time in foreign travel, before he entered on the duties of his profession. The whole continent had not yet been re-opened to Englishmen by the swords of the noble lord who is near me, and his companions in arms: but in the eastern part of it the bishop found a field, the more interesting on account of its having been seldom trodden by our countrymen; he kept a valuable journal of his observations: and when you consider his youth, the applause he had already received, and how tempting, in the morning of life, are the gratifications of literary success, you will consider it as a mark of the retiring and ingenuous modesty of his character, that he preferred to let the substance of his work appear in the humble form of notes to the volumes of another: this has been before noticed; there is another circumstance which I can add, and which is not so generally known. This journey, and the aspect of those vast regions, stimulating a mind which was stored with classical learning, had suggested to him a plan of collecting, arranging, and illustrating all of ancient and modern literature, which could unfold the history, and throw light on the present state of Scythia; that region of mystery and fable; that source from whence, eleven times in the history of man, the living clouds of war have been breathed over all the nations of the south. I can hardly conceive any work for which the talents of the author were better adapted; hardly any which could have given the world more of delight, himself more of glory; I know the interest which he took in it. But he had now entered into the service of the Church, and finding that it interfered with his graver duties, he turned from his fascinating pursuit, and condemned to temporary oblivion a work which I trust may yet be given to the public.

"I mention this chiefly for the purpose of showing how steady was the purpose, how serious the views, with which he entered on his calling. I am aware that there were inducements to it which some minds will be disposed to regard as the only probable ones; but I look upon it myself to have been with him a sacrifice of no common sort. His early celebrity had given him incalculable advantages, and every path of literature was open to him—every road to the temple of fame—every honour which his country could afford was in clear prospect before him, when he turned to the humble duties of a country Church, and buried in his heart those talents which would have ministered so largely to worldly vanity, that they might spring up in a more precious harvest. He passed many years in this situation in the enjoyment of as much happiness as the condition of humanity is perhaps capable of. Happy in the choice of his companion, the love of his friends, the fond

admiration of his family—happy in the discharge of his quiet duties, and the tranquillity of a satisfied conscience. It was not, however, from this station that he was called to India. By the voice, I am proud to say it, of a part of that profession to which I have the honour to belong, he had been invited to an office which few have held for any length of time without further advancement. His friends thought it, at that time, no presumption to hope that, ere long, he might wear the mitre at home. But it would not have been like himself to chaffer for preferment: he freely and willingly accepted a call which led him to more important, though more dangerous, alas! I may now say, to fatal labours. What he was in India, why should I describe? You saw him! You bear testimony! He has already received, in a sister presidency, the encomiums of those from whom praise is most valuable; especially of one whose own spotless integrity, and a sincerity far above suspicion, make every word of commendation which is drawn from him of tenfold value. I have reason to believe, that, short as their acquaintance had been, there are few from whom the voice would have sounded more gratefully to him who was the subject of it. Would that he might have lived to hear it. What sentiments were entertained of him in this metropolis of India, your presence testifies; and I feel authorised to say, that if the noble person who holds the highest station in this country had been unfettered by usage; if he had consulted only his own inclinations and his regard for the bishop, he would have been the foremost upon this occasion to manifest his participation in the feelings which are common to us all. When a stamp has been thus given to his character, it may seem only to be disturbing the impression to renew, in any manner, your view of it; yet, if you will grant me your patience for a few moments, I shall have a melancholy pleasure in pointing out some features of it which appear to me to have been the most remarkable.

"The first which I would notice was that cheerfulness and alacrity of spirit, which, though it may seem to be a common quality, is, in some circumstances, of rare value. To this large assembly I fear I might appeal in vain, if I were to ask, that he should step forward who had never felt his spirit sink when he thought of his native home, and felt that a portion of his heart was in a distant land; who had never been irritated by the annoyance, or embittered by the disappointment of India. I feel ashamed to say, that I am not the man who could answer the appeal. The bishop was the only one whom I have ever known who was entirely master of these feelings. Disappointments and annoyances came to him as they come to all, but he met and overcame them with a smile; and when he has known a different effect produced on others, it was his usual wish that 'they were but as happy as himself.' Connected with this alacrity of spirit, and in some degree springing out of it, was his activity. I apprehend that few persons, civil or military, have under-

gone as much labour, traversed as much country, seen and regulated so much as he had done, in the small portion of time which had elapsed since he entered on his office; and if death had not broken his career, his friends know that he contemplated no relaxation of exertions. But this was not a mere restless activity, or result of temperament. It was united with a fervent zeal, not fiery nor ostentatious, but steady and composed; which none could appreciate but those who intimately knew him. I was struck myself, upon the renewal of our acquaintance, by nothing so much as the observation that, though he talked with animation on all subjects, there was nothing on which his intellect was bent—no prospect on which his imagination dwelt—no thought which occupied habitually his vacant moments, but the furtherance of the great design of which he had been made the principal instrument in this country. Of the same unobtrusive character was the piety which filled his heart. It is seldom that, of so much, there is so little ostentation. All here knew his good-natured and unpretending manner; but I have seen unequivocal testimonies, both before and since his death, that, under that cheerful and gay aspect, there were feelings of serious and unremitting devotion—of perfect resignation—of tender kindness for all mankind, which would have done honour to a saint. When to these qualities you add his desire to conciliate, which had every where won all hearts; his amiable demeanour, which invited friendships that were confirmed by the innocence and purity of his manners, which bore the most scrutinizing and severe examination, you will readily admit that there was in him a rare assemblage of all that deserves esteem and admiration.

"But I will not leave the matter upon these grounds. What we do this day, we do in the face of the world; and I am loth to leave it open even to the malignant heart to suppose that we have met here on a solemn, but hollow pretence, that we use idle or exaggerated words, or would stoop to flattery, even of the dead. The principal ground of all on which I hold the death of the bishop to have been a public loss, was the happy fitness and adaptation of his character, for the situation and circumstances in which he was placed. There is no man, whether he be of the laity or a churchman, to whom I will yield in earnestness of desire to see Christianity propagated and predominant throughout the world; but it would be sinful, if it were possible, to banish from our recollection the truths which the experience of former ages has left for the guidance of the present. It is an awful, but an unquestionable fact, that a fuller knowledge, a more perfect revelation of the will of God has never been communicated rapidly to large masses of mankind, without their being thrown into confusion. To some it has seemed that religion is so important an element of moral and social order, that no alteration can be made of its quality and proportion, without the whole mass dissolving, fermenting, and assuming new forms; that by some mysterious

condition of the lot of humanity, all mighty blessings are attended by some great evil; that every step to Heaven is even yet to be won by fresh sacrifices and fresh atonements. There is another, and, I trust, a better mode of reasoning on these symptoms of interpreting these terrible signs; I will not readily believe that religion has been one of the causes of disorder—but, rather, that the vices of men having prepared the crisis, and called for the revulsion and re-action of the preservative principles of society, religion has only then manifested herself in a more visible and tangible form, and come as a ministering angel, to enable those who were struggling for the right to persevere and to prevail. The appalling fact, however, remains not the less indisputable, that it is in scenes of extensive disorder, amidst mortal strife and terrible misery, that she has achieved her greatest triumphs, displayed her strongest powers and made her most rapid advances. When Christianity first spread itself over the face of the Roman empire, all the powers of darkness seemed to be roused to an encounter. The storm blew from every point of the compass; unheard of races of men, and monsters of anarchy and misrule, more like the fantastic shapes of a dream than the realities of life, appeared amongst the gloom; and that period ensued which has been, perhaps, rightly considered, as the most calamitous in the whole history of man. When that new world was discovered, which now presents such fair and animating prospects, religion was imparted to the southern portion of it by carnage and by torture; I say, that in South America the ground was cleared by the torch and dug by the sword, and the first shoots of Christianity were moistened by the blood of unoffending millions. Again, when in Europe the Church cast its old slough, and re-appeared in somewhat of its pristine simplicity, the whole continent was convulsed by civil war for a century and a half; witness in France those battles, and massacres, and assassinations of the Huguenots and Catholics; in Germany, that closing scene of thirty years confusion in which the grotesque and barbaric forms of Wallenstein and Tilly are seen struggling with the indomitable spirit of Mansfield, and the majestic genius of Gustavus Adolphus. Witness in England the downfall of its ancient throne and the eclipse of royalty. Let me not be misunderstood on points such as these. There is no one who has rightly considered these events, who will not, even while he mourns over them, admit that it is now better the changes took place, even with their terrible accompaniments, than that they should not have taken place at all. But whilst I avow this, I hope it is not presumptuous to breathe a fervent prayer, that India may receive the blessing without the attendant misery: not faint-heartedness, that I tremble at the possibility of all Southern Asia being made a theatre of confusion; not luke-warmness, that rather than see religion advance upon the rapid wings of strife, I would prefer to wait for her more gradual approach, preceded by commerce and the arts, with peace and knowledge for her hand-maids, and

with all the brightest forms of which human felicity is susceptible, crowding in her train. I confidently trust that there shall one day be erected in Asia a Church, of which the corners shall be the corners of the land, and its foundation the Rock of ages; but when remote posterity have to examine its structure, and to trace the progress of its formation, I wish they may not have to record that it was put together amidst discord, and noise, and bloodshed, and confusion of tongues, but that it rose in quietness and beauty, like that new temple where 'no hammer, or axe, nor any tool of iron was heard whilst it was in building:' or in the words of the bishop himself—

> " 'No hammer fell, no ponderous axes rung;
> Like some tall palm the mystic fabric sprung!'

" That such may be the event, many hands, many spirits like his must be engaged in the work; and it is because of my conviction that they are rarely to be found, that I feel justified in saying that his death is a loss not only to his friends by whom he was loved, or to his family, of whom he was the idol, but to England, to India, and to the world."

After his lordship had concluded, Lord Combermere moved,

" That upon the occasion of the death of the late Bishop of Calcutta, it is desirable to perpetuate, by some durable monument, the sense of the public loss with which this community is impressed; and the feelings of respect and affection with which the bishop was regarded by those who knew him."

The Honourable Mr. Harington, in seconding the motion, observed:

" It is not my intention to detain you unnecessarily by any lengthened observations. I am confident that we all participate in the same feelings of unfeigned esteem, affection, and veneration for our late excellent prelate; and that we are not only willing, but anxious, to demonstrate, by a suitable memorial, the sense entertained by us, in common with all who knew him, of his distinguished talents and acquirements, his endearing virtues in private life, and the eminent services rendered by him in his short, but zealous and active career of public duty. These have been amply and justly stated in the very able speech which you have heard from the chair; and I shall, therefore, merely second the resolution which has been moved by Lord Combermere."

Mr. Pearson then rose and spoke nearly as follows:

" If I were to consult only my own wishes, I should keep silence on this affecting occasion, where it is more easy to feel than to speak. But,

as it has fallen to my lot to propose a resolution, it seems fitting that I should preface it with a few remarks on the subject of that admirable person, whose loss we have to deplore. I do not intend (I hope I have a better taste) to repeat, and weaken by repetition, what has been so ably and so eloquently said by one who has known him long and known him well; but only to point out a few of those distinguished traits, which peculiarly fitted him for the situation he had to fill, the path which he was destined to tread.

"Without a more than ordinary zeal in the cause of Christianity, a man in this country would be useless who had to hold that high place in his profession which Dr. Heber filled, and to perform the duties which it imposed upon him: but that zeal itself would be worse than useless unless accompanied by an equal portion of liberality. Never have I met with the union of these qualities so complete and perfect in any other man. The warmth of his zeal prompted him to every exertion; while his liberality was extended to all conditions of men, without any exception of sect or degree, of country or colour. Nor is it immaterial, that, in private life, his benevolence, the simplicity of his manners, and the absence of idle and pedantic forms, endeared him to all who had the happiness to know him; while the rank which he held in England and the literary world, his talents, high attainments, and clerical knowledge, gave a sanction and a lustre to the measures which he deemed it proper to adopt for the benefit and instruction of these remote countries. Is it too much to say, that it will be difficult indeed to supply the loss of such a man? The meeting has given an answer to the question in the resolution which they have already passed—in their vote to record by some suitable memorial the sense which they entertain of his merits. It only remains, therefore, to determine what kind of memorial they should adopt. It appears to me and to others, that the usage of our own country, and of Europe at large, points out a monument in marble as the most appropriate. And, though this may, perhaps, be considered less immediately and directly useful than some other kind of memorial which might be suggested, it has at least the advantage of meeting more frequently the public eye; and if things of this kind have any effect at all, it may tend for a long period of time to excite the love and imitation of those excellences which it commemorates. If the meeting concur with me in the kind of monument to be preferred, it is further only necessary to propose the situation in which it shall be erected.

"The cathedral of this city immediately occurs to the mind: that cathedral over which this inestimable prelate presided with so much honour to himself, (that, however, is a trifle,) and with so much benefit to others; where his voice has been so often heard, and always in the cause of religion and virtue."

The Honourable W. B. Bayley seconded the motion.

The Venerable Archdeacon Corrie proposed,

"That a committee of management be appointed to superintend the receipt and application of subscriptions; and that they be desired to communicate with the brother of the late bishop, Richard Heber, Esq. one of the representatives in parliament for the University of Oxford; and to request that he will superintend the execution of the monument in England." He further stated: "My own views of the loss which the public generally has sustained by the lamented occasion of our meeting, has been so fully and publicly expressed elsewhere, that it would be improper to detain you, with any further expression of my feeling on that head. In speaking on this subject, it is, however, impossible altogether to exclude private feeling, so strongly did the deceased attach all who had the opportunity of being near him; but I shall take the liberty only to state, that during a long journey through the Upper Provinces, during which the late bishop could not but be seen at almost all seasons, and under almost every variety of circumstances, I can truly say, that in his habitual temper and conduct, I never knew a person who came so near perfection."

* * * * * *

Mr. Holt Mackenzie proposed that a committee of management should be formed of the following gentlemen:

The Rev. Daniel Corrie,	W. Money, Esq.
Charles Lushington, Esq.	Rev. Principal Mill,
Hon. Colonel Finch,	Rev. W. Eales,
W. Prinsep, Esq.	Rev. J. Young.

Sir Charles Grey proposed that the Rev. Mr. Robertson be appointed secretary to the committee.

The Rev. Mr. Robertson said he would feel peculiar pleasure in doing all in his power to forward the intentions of the meeting.

Sir Charles Grey suggested, that if any surplus should remain of the money subscribed, after the erection of the monument, that it be appropriated to the foundation of an additional scholarship in Bishop's College, to be named Heber's Scholarship.

Upon the adoption of this resolution, the Rev. Dr. Bryce rose and addressed the meeting as follows:

"Allow me, Sir, to take the opportunity, afforded by the honourable judge's suggestion, of trespassing on the attention of the meeting for a few moments. I am far indeed from presuming to add any thing to the just and animated eulogium on the virtues and character of the late Bishop of Calcutta, which you have this day delivered from the chair. In the most eloquent and feeling manner you have done justice, and what eloquence could do more than justice, to the worth that distinguish-

ed this excellent and truly amiable man? But you have alluded, in a particular manner, to the benevolence which distinguished him as a man, and to the truly catholic and liberal sentiments which characterised him as a churchman; and I rise, Sir, to bear my humble testimony, founded on personal experience, to which I must now look back with a melancholy pleasure, that you have ascribed to Dr. Heber no virtues which he did not most eminently possess. The situation I hold in another church, having the promotion of the same great object in view as that of which Bishop Heber was the distinguished head, led me frequently into conversation with the late excellent prelate on these subjects; and never did I enjoy that pleasure and honour, without admiring the truly Christian and catholic spirit which distinguished all he said. Devoted zealously to the service and the honour of his own church, Bishop Heber heard with a pleasure which it was not in his nature to conceal, of the exertions of other churches to carry into execution the great work of piety and charity, which every religious society at home has in view in sending their ministers to India; and he proved himself, by the warm interest he took in every scheme to promote the gospel, not a bishop of the Church of England only, but a bishop of the Church of Christ. Encouraged by the kindness of the late bishop's manners, and the sincerity of his good will, I felt, that at any time I could seek his advice or assistance, in everything where the promotion of moral and religious instruction was the object: and at this moment I have, indeed, but too much reason to sympathise with my brother clergy of the Church of England in the loss which they have particularly sustained. It is one that will not soon be repaired. The death of Dr. Heber has left a blank in the Church that will not easily be supplied: and society at large, and the native population of these extensive regions yet sitting and darkness, have much to weep over in the loss of this excellent and beloved bishop, as well as the Church to which he did so much honour, and the ministers of other persuasions, who, like myself, were always welcome to the benefit of his advice and assistance. For sure I am Sir, that any one who had the happiness to know Dr. Heber, will agree with me, that never did Christian missionary come to the East with a spirit better fitted for the task of enlightening it in the great truths of the gospel—with a zeal more warm in the cause, yet tempered by knowledge the most extensive; or, in one word, with virtues and talents, that, under Providence, gave so much assurance of success, as did those of Dr. Heber."

The Honourable Sir John Franks then rose up and addressed the meeting; * * * * *

It was his object to have suggested that the surplus money should be appropriated towards a piece of plate, to be presented to the nearest relation of the late bishop, in testimony of the respect and veneration en-

tertained by this community for the eminent virtues of the deceased; but as Sir Charles Grey had already moved that it should be devoted towards a scholarship, he thought there was no chance of his resolution being adopted.

Sir Charles Grey said he took upon himself a portion of the shame of having been too premature; but he would now second the foregoing resolution—

Mr. George Udney, senior, then moved, and was seconded by the Honourable J. H. Harington, that the excellent and impressive speech of Sir Charles Grey be printed and published.

Sir Charles Grey stated that he had no copy of it, but he would assist any person who had taken notes.

The business of the day having concluded, it was moved by Mr. Holt M'Kenzie, and resolved unanimously, that thanks be returned to the chairman for his able conduct in the chair, and especially for the manner in which he had illustrated the character of their lamented bishop.

On the motion of Mr. H. Shakespear, seconded by Sir C. Grey, it was proposed that the thanks of the meeting should be given to the sheriff, for the prompt attention paid by him to their requisition.

The execution of this design has, also, been committed to Mr. Chantrey, and the monument, but for some misapprehension of the wishes of the subscribers, which occasioned a twelvemonth's delay, would have been in an equal state of forwardness with that destined for Madras.

Proceedings of a special general meeting of the Calcutta Diocesan Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, held at the secretary's house on Monday, May 22d, 1826, for the purpose of considering the manner in which it would be proper to notice the death of the late bishop.

PRESENT:

THE VENERABLE THE ARCHDEACON IN THE CHAIR:

Rev. Dr. Young	J. Bagshaw, Esq.
Rev. Professor Craven,	W. H. Abbott, Esq.
Rev. Professor Holmes,	R. W. Poe, Esq.
Rev. W. Burkitt,	W. Money, Esq. and
Rev. W. Tweddle,	Rev. Dr. Parish, Secretary.

hour comes, suffer as little, and be as well prepared to meet the dread change, as this upright and holy minister of Christ.

"It has been the lot of few to inspire such general respect, veneration, and affection, as the lamented Bishop Heber did. Indeed to know him was to love him; and in him the genius of true Christianity might be seen at once reflected; for he was mild and kind, and breathed peace and good will among men: he was a model of spiritual exaltation without pride, and of elevated virtue without austerity. Nor was it by his own flock alone that this good shepherd was beloved in life and lamented in death. All sects of Christians held him in the highest estimation. In this sentiment they were joined by the natives of this country, who had an opportunity of appreciating his character, and who, if they could not become his proselytes, were the unfeigned admirers of his tolerance, benignity, and charity, and hold his memory in sincere reverence."

BOMBAY.

Pursuant to the public notice, a very numerous and respectable meeting of the society of Bombay was assembled in St. Thomas's Church, on Saturday, May 13th, 1826, for the purpose of considering the most appropriate mode of evincing their respect and esteem for the late Right Reverend Reginald Heber, Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

The Honourable the Governor took the chair at 11 o'clock, and addressed the meeting to the following effect:

"The purpose for which we are met, is to consider of a tribute to the memory of one of the most enlightened and amiable prelates that ever adorned the Church.

"The merits of his character will, no doubt, be set before you by others more capable of doing justice to the subject than I am: but even if it were deprived of that advantage, your own recent observation of his virtues would render it unnecessary for me to enlarge on his claim to this mark of public veneration.

"His extensive learning, his rare accomplishments, his universal benevolence, his unaffected piety, the simplicity and kindness of his manners but lately attracted your admiration, and must still be fresh in your memory.

"I shall not, therefore, take up more of your time in explaining the motives of the meeting, but shall leave you to determine on the best means of marking your sentiment towards a man, whose loss is a public misfortune to this country, and to his own."

The Rev. Thomas Carr having, at the request of the meeting, undertaken the office of secretary, the Honourable the Chief Justice rose to propose the first resolution in the following terms.

"Sir, I have the honour to propose a resolution expressive of our deep regret and grief, at the mournful event which has occasioned this meeting, a resolution which requires not a word from me to recommend it. I cannot, however, in justice to my own feelings, feelings which I entertain only in common with those around me, confine myself to a naked enunciation of that resolution. I cannot deny myself the melancholy satisfaction of paying my last humble tribute of respect to the virtues, the talents, and zeal of the great and good man whose loss we are now deploring. I cannot but dwell for a few moments upon the irreparable loss which his friends and the public, which India and Britain, which literature, and above all, the cause of humanity and religion, have sustained in the death of Bishop Heber.

"But a few months have elapsed since he was in the midst of us, urging us by precept, (and never was precept enforced with more glowing eloquence,) animating us by example, (and never was example more bright or attractive,) engaging us by converse, (and never was converse more winning or persuasive,) to that great work to which he had devoted his life. Not a short year has yet passed over us since, from that very seat, which you, Sir, now occupy, he recommended to us, in a manner and with language irresistible, one of those institutions of charity and of religion, which, though not reared by him, was daily strengthening and expanding under his fostering hand.

"To dwell upon his virtues, upon the charity of his heart, the sweetness of his disposition, the amenity and simplicity of his manners, or the delights of his conversation, were superfluous, recently as we have all been witnesses to them. No man, perhaps, was ever more calculated, from the reputation of his name, the splendour of his talents, the depth of his erudition, the purity of his life, the sanctity of his office, and the eminence of his station, to inspire us with respect and veneration; but on the slightest intercourse, on the shortest acquaintance or converse with him, these feelings were absorbed and lost in a still deeper feeling of affection and of love.

"Of his splendid talents, who is there who had not heard years before he visited these shores? Few at so early a period of life achieved so high a reputation as Bishop Heber. I, perhaps, am the only one here who had the happiness of seeing him crowned with academical honours, of witnessing the applause of the learned received by him with a diffidence as rare as were his talents. From that moment till the day of his death his course was one tract of light, the admiration of Britain and of India.

"To his zeal in the cause of humanity and Christianity, we want no

hour comes, suffer as little, and be as well prepared to meet the dread change, as this upright and holy minister of Christ.

"It has been the lot of few to inspire such general respect, veneration, and affection, as the lamented Bishop Heber did. Indeed to know him was to love him: and in him the genius of true Christianity might be seen at once reflected; for he was mild and kind, and breathed peace and good will among men; he was a model of spiritual exaltation without pride, and of elevated virtue without austerity. Nor was it by his own flock alone that this good shepherd was beloved in life and lamented in death. All sects of Christians held him in the highest estimation. In this sentiment they were joined by the natives of this country, who had an opportunity of appreciating his character, and who, if they could not become his proselytes, were the unfeigned admirers of his tolerance, benignity, and charity, and hold his memory in sincere reverence."

BOMBAY.

Pursuant to the public notice, a very numerous and respectable meeting of the society of Bombay was assembled in St. Thomas's Church, on Saturday, May 13th, 1826, for the purpose of considering the most appropriate mode of evincing their respect and esteem for the late Right Reverend Reginald Heber, Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

The Honourable the Governor took the chair at 11 o'clock, and addressed the meeting to the following effect:

"The purpose for which we are met, is to consider of a tribute to the memory of one of the most enlightened and amiable prelates that ever adorned the Church.

"The merits of his character will, no doubt, be set before you by others more capable of doing justice to the subject than I am: but even if it were deprived of that advantage, your own recent observation of his virtues would render it unnecessary for me to enlarge on his claim to this mark of public veneration.

"His extensive learning, his rare accomplishments, his universal benevolence, his unaffected piety, the simplicity and kindness of his manners but lately attracted your admiration, and must still be fresh in your memory.

"I shall not, therefore, take up more of your time in explaining the motives of the meeting, but shall leave you to determine on the best means of marking your sentiment towards a man, whose loss is a public misfortune to this country, and to his own."

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"To his zeal in the cause of humanity and Christianity, we want no

testimony. He sacrificed all the endearments of his home; he expatriated himself from the land of his fathers; he tore himself from the nearest and dearest relations, and from the most devoted friends; he abandoned the most brilliant worldly prospects, for this distant and fatal clime. A very few years must have seen him in as exalted a station in his native country as he filled in India. Never, however, even in Britain, could he have occupied a more exalted station in the admiration, the esteem, and affection of his countrymen.

"Whoever may be the successor to his high and sacred office, we are not likely to see so great energy of mind with so much sweetness of disposition, so great talent with so much diffidence, or so great zeal with so much charity.

"I beg to propose the following resolution:

"That this meeting is penetrated with feelings of the deepest sorrow, for the sudden and untimely death of the late Right Reverend Reginald Heber, Lord Bishop of Calcutta; and, whilst they commemorate, with the highest regard, the goodness, the candour, and the charity which adorned his private character, they reflect with no less admiration on the lustre of his public life, distinguished, as it has been, by uncommon talents and extensive learning, and consecrated to the unwearied labours of his high and important station."

In seconding the resolution proposed by the Honourable Sir Edward West, Mr. Warden expressed his entire concurrence in the object of the meeting; and more especially in every part of the impressive appeal with which that resolution had been so feelingly and powerfully urged on the attention of the meeting.

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"You have heard," added Mr. Warden, "an eloquent eulogium passed on the character of that lamented and accomplished prelate. You have been informed of the personal comforts and independency which he sacrificed, and of the honourable prospects of professional advancement which he abandoned at home, with a self-devotion to which those only can cheerfully submit who are sincere and conscientious servants of a Divine Master, for the disinterested purpose of promoting the best interests of his country in this distant branch of her empire—the moral and religious improvement of British India. Great as those sacrifices undoubtedly were, they were yet not greater than that to which his country yielded in consenting to send forth to this distant region, one of the most pious and highly-gifted of her sons. Those who have listened to his persuasive eloquence—to the pure, the liberal, and consolatory theology he taught within these walls,—those who have observed the ardour with which he lent his personal assistance to the promotion of our different charitable institutions,—those who have heard the luminous and instructive exposition which he afforded of the great advantage of a

better system of education to a country like India, on the interesting occasion of laying the foundation stones of the charity-schools at Byculla, those who have had such means, as most of the gentlemen present have, of appreciating the character of Bishop Heber, possess the fullest opportunity of forming a just estimate of the sacrifice made by the mother country, and of the value of the boon she conferred on India, by the selection of such a prelate to preside over its Church establishments. I cannot adduce a stronger proof of the wisdom of that selection, nor a more interesting evidence of the frame and constitution of Bishop Heber's mind,—of its complete adaptation to the truly arduous duty of superintending the Indian Diocese,—than by quoting the concluding sentence of his reply to the valedictory address made to him by the Bishop of Bristol, on behalf of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, on his appointment to the See of Calcutta. After beseeching, with characteristic humility, the blessing and prayer of the Society; after expressing the gratification he experienced in going forth as their agent to promote their pious designs in the East; he added, that 'if ever the time should arrive when I may be enabled to preach to the natives of India in their own language, I shall then aspire to the still higher distinction of being considered the missionary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.' I cannot adduce a more affecting proof of the ardour, the anxiety, and the success, with which he must have been prosecuting an object so near his heart, and of the deep importance of which, to the efficacious discharge of his duty as a bishop of India, he would appear to have entertained so firm and just a conviction, than by adverting to the fact, that one of his last pious acts was to pronounce the apostolic benediction to the native Christians at Trichinopoly, in the Tamul language. Simple, gentlemen, as that act may appear to be, the effect it produced in his congregation was strong and salutary, and followed as it so immediately was by his sudden and lamented death, the impression cannot soon be forgotten." Mr. Warden felt persuaded that the result of the meeting would prove to our countrymen at home, that though short was the period we were destined to enjoy the blessing, we were yet not insensible of, nor ungrateful for, the boon conferred on us by the nomination of such a prelate as Bishop Heber to superintend the Church Establishment in India.

In moving the second resolution, Sir Charles Chambers expressed himself nearly in the following terms.

"Sir, after the eloquent eulogiums to which we have just been listening, from the learned mover of the first resolution and his honourable second, I could have been well content to sit down in silence after having read to the meeting the resolution which I have the honour to hold in my hand; but having been active in promoting this public testimony

of our regard for Bishop Heber, and feeling, as I do, a more than ordinary anxiety that the expression of our respect should be, in some measure, adequate to the extent in which I am sure we all feel the sudden termination of his valuable life, I feel that I should be guilty of great remissness, if I did not exert my utmost endeavour upon this occasion to do honour to his memory, and to identify my own feelings with the object of this meeting.

"By the public notice we have been called upon, in the first place, to express our regard for the private virtues of our lamented Diocesan; but I think, on many accounts, that it is not necessary to dwell much upon them. It is so short a time since he was amongst us, and he spent so much larger a portion of time here than we could reasonably have anticipated, that every one who hears me must have had ample opportunity of forming an estimate of his private character. Indeed, openness and ingenuousness, with a humility both deep and unaffected, were so much the characteristics of his whole life, that it was impossible to be long in his society without surveying and discovering his whole character. There was nothing concealed or disguised. His virtues shone forth to all with all their original brightness, and his faults, could they be called such, were the inseparable companions of those virtues, and were equally conspicuous. The commemoration, however, of private virtues is satisfactory as the expression of private friendship or affection, although perhaps we best show our sense of their value by endeavouring to imitate them. *Admiratione te potius, quam temporalibus laudibus, et si natura suppeditet emulatione decoremus.*

"But, in endavouring to do honour to the memory of our illustrious friend, other and more important considerations demand our attention—considerations connected with the most enlarged views of Christian philanthropy, and interwoven with the fate of nations. My learned and eloquent friend, who addressed you first, has rightly told you, that we should not do justice to the character of Bishop Heber, by confining our attention to the period of his episcopal career. Neither shall we do it justice by considering it only with reference to his labours in this corner of the globe. The age in which he lived is very remarkable. In what former period of the world have there been such rapid strides to the perfectibility of man and his happiness? When have the educated classes turned their attention with more ardour and with more zeal, but at the same time so judiciously and temperately, to those speculations which are most intimately connected with the best interests of mankind? When did the great and the good of every clime, with so impartial and unimpassioned a spirit, without infringing upon the duties of true patriotism, look abroad and survey the institutions of other countries, for the purpose of benefitting their own? When did the light of Divine truth burst forth with more unconfined splendour, to illumine the universe, and cause a ray of health and comfort to shine over the face of

the whole earth? At such a period, it is no mean praise, that the name of Reginald Heber is always to be found in the foremost rank; that if he did not direct, he kept pace with the mighty torrent, and expanded his capacious mind to the conception of the boundless prospect before him.

"But if this be the general impulse of mankind to improvement, can it be doubted, that a field does not present itself better calculated to feed this insatiable ardour, than India? It is now somewhat more than half a century since we have acquired a right to guide and influence, not only the political, but the moral destinies of this vast peninsula. We have subjected its timorous and unwarlike inhabitants to our dominion. We have erected great establishments; individuals have returned to England with their princely fortunes out of its spoils. It has been a well-merited reproach that we did not sooner turn our minds to the solid and more durable conquests of peace; that we did not sooner attempt to lay a more lasting foundation for esteem, than the splendour of military achievements. But we have at length gloriously redeemed ourselves from this disgrace, and two nobly-gifted individuals have been found, adorned with all that ancient lore and modern refinement could afford, endowed with the means of enjoying all the blessings of their native land, sacrificing their ease, their comforts, their health, and even life itself, for the benefit of a people, who cannot, for centuries to come, if ever, be made adequately sensible of the obligations they owe to their disinterested benevolence.

* * * * * * * *

They are both gone to their last home, they are beatified spirits, and if they are conscious in any way of sublunary things, they look down with the utmost contempt on our vain and petty distinctions; all mists are cleared from their minds by the perfect day; they know each other even as they are known, and they contemplate no part of their earthly existence with satisfaction, except that which has contributed to their present happiness, in the enjoyment of the inexpressible and absolute perfections of the Supreme Being.

"It would be a presumptuous undertaking in me to attempt to portray to you the pattern of a Christian Bishop. But with reference to the occasion on which we are assembled, it may be permitted me to make one or two remarks, which have been suggested by my personal knowledge of Bishop Heber. In looking at the peculiar duties of a bishop of the Indian diocese, it must have often occurred to every one that the contemplation of its countless inhabitants, immersed in worse than Pagan darkness and ignorance, and debased by worse than Pagan superstition, and the desire which is at first created by this reflection of elevating them to a higher state of existence by the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion, has a tendency to raise the mind above its proper and sober level; while, on the other hand, the consideration of

the innumerable and almost insurmountable obstacles which present themselves to the progress of improvement is apt to depress the hopes of the most sanguine, and to give to all our schemes of melioration the appearance of being visionary. The views of Bishop Heber, carried into action with his characteristic promptitude and energy, and animated by a zeal which some might deem enthusiastic, never appear to have misled his judgment. Carrying into the investigation of the situation of his vast diocese all the lights which human learning could afford, with the firm conviction of the truths which his high office called upon him to inculcate, his moderation and temperance were conspicuous to all. In respect to the great point of improving the condition of the natives by education, he earnestly and zealously followed the steps of his great predecessor Bishop Middleton. His tongue and his heart were ever employed in giving effect to that institution which will immortalize the name of his predecessor, and doubtless this meeting cannot be more appropriately employed, than by making this an occasion of promoting the welfare of Bishop's College which the almost boundless liberality of Bishop Heber, when living, contributed to cherish.

"I must touch on one more point of his episcopal character and exertions, and that part which at first view, we might be disposed to consider of inferior magnitude, but which rightly appreciated, must always be acknowledged to be of the first importance—I mean the demeanour and conduct of Bishop Heber to the European inhabitants of India. It cannot, I think, be a moment doubted, that the first important step which will tend to enlighten the native population, will proceed from a gradual approximation between the two classes: more kindliness and consideration on the side of the former, more knowledge and less prejudice on the side of the latter. When this effect will take place, in the revolution of ages, it is impossible, even in idea, to anticipate. It cannot reasonably be conceived probable, until the European population shall numerically preponderate to a greater extent than it does at present: but this we may confidently affirm, that if the approximation of the two classes, by education and mutual good will, is to be hailed as the forerunner of a new era, nothing can well be considered as of greater effect to retard such a blessed event, than the neglect of the European population to act up to their own light and information, and to make their lives consistent with the precepts of our holy faith. It seemed to be natural inclination, as well as the sense of duty, which induced Bishop Heber so to deport himself as to allure men to his society and conversation, by candour, by fairness, and urbanity; while, at the same time, his fervent and genuine piety, and his earnest and patient discharge of the ministerial points of his sacred office, insured the respect of all, both to his own character and the service in which he was engaged. Through his long progress in the upper provinces he seems to have fascinated all classes, nor do I think upon examination there would be

found a single dissentient voice upon this point of his character. Had he lived to continue his indefatigable labours, and to have studied the various parts of his extensive flock more at leisure, his maturer judgment might have led him to modify his intercourse in some points: but the broad outline of his character would have remained the same: and he would always have appeared to be actuated by the same ruling principle—a simple desire to draw men to a holy and religious life, by the representation of it under the most gentle unassuming aspect.

"In the midst, however, of labours so abundant and, to human conceptions, so well calculated to promote the great object of his life, we are called upon to lament its sudden termination, under circumstances calculated to call forth our deepest sympathy. The countless leagues of the ocean had removed him forever from those relatives whom he most honoured and loved: from his affectionate brother, who loved him with a love passing the love of women; from his aged and bereaved mother, to part from whom had cost him his acutest pang. His afflicted wife and his orphan children, though not so far removed from him, had not, nevertheless, the consolation of following his remains to the grave, or of laying his thrice revered head in the dust. They have indeed a consolation which neither the wisdom of philosophy, nor the fancy of the poet could have supplied, a sure and certain hope full of immortality. Their sorrow is not dead. He has put off his earthly mitre for the crown incorruptible. He has laid aside his sacerdotal robes for the pure and unblemished marriage garment. He hears the inexpressive nuptial song. With his loins girt and his lamp burning, he has gained an entrance, when the bridegroom with his friends passed to bliss at the mid hour of night.

"To us, also, who are not so intimately allied to him, his death presents an awful and affecting spectacle. After a laborious personal survey of his diocese—after promoting by precept and example the welfare of the Church, and good will amongst men—he was conducted by a mysterious hand to finish his life and his labours upon hallowed ground—amidst the scenes which the primitive and apostolic Schwartz illustrated by his life—where he gained the love and veneration of his Heathen neighbours, and ensured the grateful admiration of the Christian world. Bishop Heber's feelings seem to have been thoroughly excited on the occasion, and being deeply impressed with the responsibility of his office, he took leave of the last congregation he was destined to address on earth, in terms of the most exquisite sensibility and pathos. He retired from the scene, and having unrobed himself of the emblems of his earthly functions, with the smallest quantity probably of acute pain he seems to have expired, without experiencing any of the pangs of a mortal dissolution. What may have been the purpose of Providence in this awful dispensation, it were profane for us to inquire: but, without trespassing upon a subject above our comprehension, it may be allowed me to sug-

gest a reflection which has forcibly impressed my own mind. Perhaps it may have been necessary to remind us that taste, and genius, and talents are not absolutely necessary to the great work which this illustrious prelate had so much at heart. Perhaps, rather, it was essential to the furtherance of the same great cause, to rouse us to the contemplation of higher degrees of virtue, and a greater singleness of mind: to represent to us what manner of person he ought to be who shall undertake the care of this great diocese; that he must be prepared to put in practice in all their literal severity, the precepts of self denial inculcated by our divine Master—to cut off the right hand, or to pluck out the eye. 'Him that overcometh,' says the sublime language of the Apocalypse, 'will I make to be a pillar in the house of my God.' Two massive and majestic pillars already support the gorgeous dome of the Eastern Church—of different materials, and perhaps of different orders—but well fitted to grace the same temple. Let us fervently hope that their bright example will cause other columns innumerable to be added to this costly edifice, to support and to adorn it till the final consummation of all things, each upon the same firm and solid base—with the same polished elegance of shaft—with the same capital ornaments of Christian graces and good works.

"I have thus endeavoured, to the best of my ability, to do its merited honours to the character of our illustrious friend. From the earliest period which I can recollect, his character and endowments have been familiar to me; and the intimacy which has for a long period existed between our mutual friends and connections—an intimacy, which has now survived more than one generation,—has rendered me equally familiar with the general outline of his interesting and eventful life. The learned Chief Justice has told you of the splendour of his academical career. After having exhausted the stores of ancient learning, he travelled over a great part of the continent, and was familiarly acquainted, I believe with all its languages. When he returned home, he devoted himself to the sacred office, and became as deeply imbued with sacred lore as he had previously been with profane literature. For nearly twenty years before his undertaking the episcopal office, he enjoyed in England all the benefits which the most refined society of the most refined country in the world could afford, and all the blessings of domestic life, which he knew so well how to appreciate, were abundantly showered down upon him. In the midst of happiness, almost without alloy, and of society which he was so well calculated reciprocally to enjoy and to adorn, the opportunity presented itself of visiting India in the character of its bishop. Let it not be thought that he eagerly and unadvisedly snatched at its elevation to gratify worldly pride and ambition. I well remember hearing from those most intimate with him the circumstances under which he was induced to accept its responsibility. It was pressed much upon him by his friend and connection,

Mr. Wynn: but natural affection to an aged relative, and those ties which, at a mature time of life, acquire the strongest claims upon the mind, both from duty and inclination, made him recoil from the thought. He declined the office; but after the lapse of about a week, after, I was assured, devout meditation, and not without private prayer to that Being, 'who is the source of all utterance and knowledge, who sendeth the seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases,' he desired that this high dignity, if not already disposed of, should be entrusted to him. He accepted the great work from the imperious sense of duty alone, and from duty alone consented to encounter those thousand deaths, which we are called upon, even when living, to endure in the separation, perhaps for ever, from those whom we most love and honour. Upon his arrival on these shores we have seen how cheerfully and zealously he entered upon his pastoral duties; how promptly and energetically he pursued his apostolic mission up to that melancholy period which has beheld at once the extinction of his labours and of our hopes. I shall conclude by reading the second resolution to be proposed for your consideration, namely.

"That a subscription be entered into for the purpose of raising a fund to endow one or more scholarships at Bishop's college, Calcutta, for the benefit of this presidency, to be called '*Bishop Heber's Bombay Scholarships.*'"

This resolution was seconded by Major General Wilson.

Mr. Chaplin moved,

"That a committee of the under-mentioned gentlemen be appointed, to take into consideration the best mode of effecting the object of the second resolution:

The Hon. Sir Edward West,	R. Wallace, Esq.
F. Warden, Esq.	Rev. T. Carr,
R. T. Goldwin, Esq.	T. T. Mardon, Esq.
The Hon. Sir Ralph Rice,	Rev. D. Young,
The Hon. Sir C. H. Chambers,	J. Farish, Esq.
T. Buchanan, Esq.	C. Norris, Esq.
Major General Wilson,	Lieut. Col. Willis,
J. J. Sparrow, Esq.	Rev. E. Mainwaring,
J. Elphinston, Esq.	J. M'Adam, Esq.
W. Chaplin, Esq.	J. Forbes, Esq.
Lieut. Col. Shuldham,	G. Forbes, Esq.
W. Newnham, Esq.	A. Mackintosh, Esq.
The Rev. H. Davies,	G. Norton, Esq.
J. Wedderburn, Esq.	Rev. J. Clow,
Lieut. Col. Leighton, C. B.	Rev. J. Lawrie,
F. Bourchier, Esq.	T. F. Ranken, Esq.
The Ven. the Archdeacon.	

"And that every subscriber to the amount of twenty rupees shall be considered a member of the same committee; the number of five to form a quorum."

Mr. Newnham seconded this resolution.

Moved by Lieutenant Colonel Shuldham, and seconded by Lieutenant Colonel Leighton, C. B.,

"That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Honourable the Governor, for his kindness and condescension in taking the chair, and for his able conduct in it."

CEYLON.

At a meeting of the gentlemen of Colombo, it was resolved to propose the following resolutions.

"That feeling deeply those sentiments of reverence for the character of our late excellent Bishop, which have been manifested throughout India, we deem it right to record them by a testimonial to be put up in the church of Colombo.

"That for this purpose a subscription be entered into to defray the expense of a mural tablet, bearing a suitable inscription.

"That the amount of each subscription, as in the instance of Bishop Middleton's monument, do not exceed one guinea.

"A meeting for the above purpose will be held at the king's house, at one o'clock, on the first day of September next."

At a meeting of the subscribers for the support and education of Cingalese Youths at Bishop's College, Calcutta.

"*Resolved*,—That as a mark of respect to the memory of the late excellent Bishop Heber, the "Colombo Exhibition," as voted by the resolutions of the 11th September last, shall henceforth be called BISHOP HEBER'S EXHIBITION.*

"JAS. M. S. GLENIE, *Secretary*."

Gazette, Aug. 26

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* The reports of the proceedings consequent on the Bishop of Calcutta's death, are reprinted from the newspapers of Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay.

The following inscription is intended for the mural tablet at Colombo.

THIS TABLET IS ERECTED BY THE BRITISH IN CEYLON,
TO THE MEMORY OF
REGINALD HEBER, D. D. LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA,
who, turning cheerfully from the enjoyments of home,
and the prospects of honour in England,
undertook, in faith and hope,
the episcopal charge of his brethren in the Indian empire,
and lived and died
their watchful, indefatigable, devoted friend and pastor.
In the short space of three years
he animated by his presence almost every part of his vast diocese:
And, while he everywhere encouraged in this island, as on the peninsula,
with special and parental care the church already formed,
and visited with thankful joy the converts of his flock,
he looked earnestly to the day when, to the Heathen also,
he might be the means of preaching the gospel of Christ;
and might thus be not only the prelate of India,
but the chief Missionary of England in the East.*

HE WAS BORN APRIL 21, 1783.—CONSECRATED BISHOP OF CALCUTTA, 1823.—DIED APRIL 3, 1826.

The private testimonies of grief for this heavy and unexpected loss,—a loss which almost every individual in India felt to be personal, are no less gratifying than the public expression of sorrow with which the intelligence was received both at home and abroad. One of the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society thus expresses the general effect which the event produced in India.

"Bereaved of our much beloved, zealous, and apostolic Bishop, who can but lament the loss which the missionary cause, and the whole church in India have sustained! Methinks this dispensation calls for a day of public fasting and prayer, that the Head of the Church would be gracious unto India again, and send out such a chief shepherd as our departed parent. This is the character which he reminded me of on the day we were all together at his lordship's table. He, alone, among all our people, seemed untainted with the pride that is congenial to India. Oh, how my mind was transported with the idea, that, if it should please the Lord to spare our good bishop for a quarter of a century to India, what mighty changes for the better might we not expect would take place. But all is blasted and laid in the dust from that quarter."

* Answer to the Valedictory Address of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1823. Sermons in India, p. xxxiv.

Abdul Musseeh, whose ordination was one of the bishop's last public acts before he sailed for Madras, with great feeling and simplicity, expressed his own sorrow for his death in a letter written in Hindostanee, of which the following is a translation.

"It is a subject of deep grief, that yesterday I heard from Mr. Ricketts of the death of our father, and spiritual guide the lord bishop. On hearing it, I became almost insensible. Alas! Alas! we Hindostanee people were not worthy that he should remain among us. God hath taken him from the world! A thousand lamentations for the loss of so holy and spiritual a bishop! The Lord gave him to us, and the Lord hath taken him away! Blessed be the name of the Lord! Woe, woe unto us! except patience and resignation, nothing stands in any stead; for death is the way that we must all go. When I think of him my heart is ready to break, and I have no power to express in writing my feelings. My only consolation is, that his lordship, having set us a holy and spiritual example, and being in a prepared state, hath slept in the Lord Jesus Christ, and entered into everlasting rest."

From the Rev. Principal Mill to the Rev. Anthony Hamilton, Secretary of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Bishop's College, Calcutta, April 15, 1826.

"* * * It would be in vain to attempt to describe the gloom which the loss of one so respected and beloved has diffused all around. The sense entertained of it by the Supreme Government, may be estimated from the enclosed proclamation* issued yesterday, when first the melancholy news reached this presidency. Our admirable diocesan was at the commencement of a visitation, important on several accounts above the last which he had so happily completed; the effect of his presence and inspection was now beginning to be felt on the first, and most important Protestant missions of India,—the spirit of intelligence and Christian charity, which he never failed to diffuse wherever he appeared, would have contributed essentially to the melioration of their condition,—his presence was about to heal effectually, (as his letters were now aiming to heal,) the unfortunate dissensions that the ignorance or forgetfulness of just principles, has occasioned in the ancient Syrian Church of Malabar, when all those and other projects of extensive usefulness were, by the mysterious dispensation of an all-wise Providence, suddenly arrested; their performance, we know not for how long a period, hopelessly suspended. * * *

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* See page 428.

"* * * On one point only would I endeavour to add, if it is possible for my voice to add any thing, to the force of what is pronounced by the departed bishop. It is that which relates to the ancient eastern churches, and the provision proposed for them in the college. The experiment, as far as regards our present domiciliary, the young deacon of Ararat, Mesrop David, is, I can assure the society, of the happiest promise, both with respect to what he receives, and what he communicates. From what I have gathered from other Armenians, but more particularly from him, (who is destined to one of the highest stations in his Church,) I am satisfied of the great, and, indeed, incalculable benefit that an intercourse with the reformed part of the Church Catholic—an intercourse begun in this truly Catholic manner—may produce to this widely extended and most interesting Christian community. * * * I will add no more at present, though I have much to say hereafter on this subject, except that the deep feeling exhibited by the Armenians of Calcutta, on the death of the bishop, with the anxiety expressed by many, particularly by the excellent deacon now with us, lest the intercourse between them and us should now be suspended, would, I am sure, if it could be witnessed by the society, furnish the strongest argument for not being wanting to the occasion which Divine Providence has opened us.

"*April 18th.* P. S.—I cannot forbear enclosing an additional testimony to the universal sorrow of the respectable Armenian community in Calcutta, manifested on our bishop's decease. The letter is no copy, but the actual original sent me this morning by Johannes Avdall, a young Armenian merchant, born at Shiraz, who has not been long resident in India, nor acquainted long with the language he writes so correctly. He is the person mentioned in the bishop's letter* as desirous of translating our liturgy into his ancient language. I should add (as the publications of Schroeder and the Whistons are not generally perused,) that *Haic* is the name of the founder of the Armenian monarchy, after whom they love to name themselves.

"W. H. Mill."

From Mr. Johannes Avdall to the Rev. Principal Mill.

"*Calcutta, April* 18, 1826.

"My Dear Sir,

"It was a cause of great and sincere grief to us to hear of the very unexpected and melancholy decease of your most excellent Bishop Heber; who, in the midst of his most zealous and pious exertions, was summoned from on high, to hasten to the heavenly abode to which his Christian and moral virtues have, no doubt, directed his course.

"I cannot but feel deply the loss occasioned by this dreadful catas-

* Bishop Heber's 'Journal in India.'

trophe, and participate in the sorrow naturally excited in the bosom of every member of the English Church by this public calamity. Let me condole with you on the fall of that greatness, and the departure of that worth, which so eminently characterized both the public and private career of the late lamented bishop. Surely there is some latent mystery in death, an instance of which makes the human frame shudder, and is more particularly terrible when its victim is greatness, and its prey is public good. * * * Although the Protestant public of India have been so suddenly deprived of the benefits of a most indefatigable prelate, and Christianity has sustained so severe a loss in the premature demise of Bishop Heber, yet it is a source of no little consolation to reflect, that it pleased our Maker to remove His beloved servant from a scene of worldly revolutions, to a state of inexpressible happiness and everlasting bliss.

"It must also add to the consolation of the friends of the lamented bishop to hear, that his loss is not only felt by the members of his numerous flock, but also by the limited number of my countrymen resident in Calcutta, whom his lordship was lately pleased to honour with every mark of friendship and consideration. Impressed with a sense of gratitude and esteem for departed worth, we were all assembled in our Church on Sunday last, to pay a public and sincere tribute to the memory of our national friend. Every feeling of sympathy and good-will, every mark of outward honour and veneration, were displayed by our community on this melancholy occasion. To this I may add that, as we had the happiness of being honoured with his lordship's presence in our holy sanctuary but a few months ago, (at which the bosom of every son of Haic rejoiced, considering the consequence of this visit would prove beneficial to our national good,) we have now had the melancholy duty of assembling at the same sacred spot to bemoan the loss of the friend of Haic, occasioned by so severe and terrible an event. Though his friendship was of so short a duration, his memory will be for ever associated with our best recollections.

"JOHANNES AVDALL.'

"The very sudden and melancholy demise of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, is an event truly to be lamented and deplored, not only by the members of the Protestant Church, over which his lordship presided, and by the European community, amongst whom he moved with every engaging quality, but also by such foreigners as had an opportunity of appreciating his amiable manners, and were capable of estimating his worth and learning.

"On Friday last, when this melancholy intelligence was made known among the members of the limited Armenian community of Calcutta, who have been treated by his lordship with the greatest kindness and consideration, they were not only seized with poignant grief at the premature death of such an excellent character, but considered it a national

misfortune to lose, in Bishop Heber, a sincere friend to the Haican race, and to the Church of Armenia.

" Accordingly, yesterday being the sixth Sunday of Lent, conformably to the code of that ancient Christian Church, high mass and office were performed by Ter Joseph Stephen, late vicar of the Armenian Church of Calcutta, for the rest of the departed soul of the lamented bishop. The congregation was more numerous than usual, and their countenances plainly expressed their grief for the loss of one so beloved, and who had their interest so much at heart. While the awful knells, corresponding to the age of his lordship, fell mournfully on their ears, many of them were evidently overpowered by the solemnity of the scene, and regret for the loss Christianity has sustained. Indeed the whole of the community were assembled on this melancholy occasion, to pay a tribute of their gratitude to departed merit, and to offer their prayers to God for the spiritual rest of him, who was so unremittingly engaged in the cause of the Bible, and in promulgating its most pure and salutary doctrines.

" This humble tribute to the memory of the lamented bishop, is from one of the sons of Haic, who had the honour to experience the favour and friendship of the second diocesan of the Protestant Church of India, and to whom and to his nation the name of Heber will ever be dear, and by whom it will never be forgotten."

The following letter was written to the editor, by a Hindoo gentleman who had, in common with many of his countrymen, been received and treated by her husband with marked kindness. It was the bishop's wish to lessen, as far as his influence extended, the distance which the policy of our Indian government has placed between the European and the native inhabitants of the country, and to remove from the minds of the latter the painful sense of inferiority which the conduct of the greater part of the European residents in Calcutta was calculated to excite. In true policy, as well as in humanity, the bishop considered this the right course to be adopted; and the proof which the editor now gives of the effect which it produced on the minds of the natives, and of the assurances of their sympathy in her affliction, is not the only one she could adduce.

" Being informed of your ladyship's intended departure from Calcutta, allow me, honoured madam, to express my sentiments, by this opportunity, of the heartfelt loss of so excellent a friend as our much respect-

ed and beloved the late Bishop of Calcutta: this I feel reluctant to state, for fear of damping your ladyship's mind; but still I am confident I have not words to express the good character and virtues that our lamented friend has a claim to be spoken of. The late bishop was a man whose motive was to promote the happiness and do good for the people, as far as it lay in his power; and his loss will, no doubt, be ever felt by all who knew him, and particularly by me, who has so frequently received most friendly attentions.

"I called several times at your ladyship's late mansion, with an intention of meeting and inquiring after your ladyship's and the children's health; but I was so overcome with the sudden loss of our much-beloved bishop, that I could not have the spirit of mind to go up stairs. Gratitude prompts me to assure your ladyship that I will feel happy and proud to pay my respects to your ladyship, and see the children, any time most convenient to your ladyship.

"I am anxious to hear of your ladyship's safe arrival in England, and hope that God Almighty will enable you there to enjoy, many years, the comfort of having your dear children with you, to whom God grant the same wisdom and goodness of heart as our worthy and much-beloved late bishop had.

"I remain, honoured madam,

"Your ladyship's most obedient,

"and with much regret,

"COSSINAUTH MULLICH."

"*Calcutta, June* 5, 1826."

When the intelligence of the loss which India and Christianity in general had sustained, reached England, some of the bishop's personal friends met at Oxford, and issued the following advertisement:

"At a meeting of the personal friends of the late Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta, assembled for the purpose of testifying, by some public act, their respect for the memory of one so distinguished in this university by his genius and learning; one so virtuous and amiable in private life, and so thoroughly devoted to the great cause in which his life was lost;—it was resolved, that a subscription be opened for defraying the expense of a monument, to perpetuate those feelings of admiration and esteem which are well known to prevail in the kingdom at large, and to transmit to posterity a record of his eminent services in the propagation of Christianity in India.

"It is hoped and expected that the design thus commenced among his own more immediate friends, and in the scene of his early studies, will soon be generally approved and encouraged. According to the extent of this encouragement must, at some future period, be determined both the kind of monument to be erected, and the place most suitable for its reception.

"In the mean time subscriptions will be received at the banks of Messrs. Parson, Oxford; and Messrs. Hammersley, London.

"EDWARD DAWKINS, All-Souls,
"EDWARD CARDWELL, Brazenose, } Treasurers."

The subscriptions which were, in a short time, received, amounting to a large sum, it was determined to extend the original design, and a meeting was consequently held in London, when the following resolutions were adopted:

"*London, April* 12, 1827.

"At a meeting held on the 30th of March last, at the house of the Right Honourable Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, in furtherance of a design, commenced at OXFORD, to testify, by some public act, the respect felt for the memory of the late Right Reverend Bishop Heber, it was resolved, that a committee should be formed for the purpose of promoting the subscription more generally in LONDON, and the COUNTRY AT LARGE; and the experience of very few days having authorized the belief, that when the design shall be more publicly known, ample funds will be collected to erect, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, a monument worthy of Bishop Heber's memory, it has been determined, first, to extend immediately the subscription for effecting that object, and, secondly, to appropriate the surplus, if any, to the endowment of an oriental scholarship."

The design for the monument, on which Mr. Chantrey is now at work, is that of a colossal figure of the bishop, kneeling on a pedestal, in the attitude of devotion; with one hand on his bosom and the other resting on the Bible.

In the parish Church at Hodnet a monument is erected to the bishop's memory, at the request of his maternal uncle, the late Rev. George Allanson, who succeeded him in the living. The inscription which it bears is written by Mr. Southey.

Sacred to the Memory of the Right Reverend Father in God,
REGINALD HEBER,
who was born April 21, 1783;
instituted to the Rectory of this Parish 1807;
chosen Preacher at Lincoln's Inn 1822;
consecrated Bishop of Calcutta 1823;
and died at Trichinopoly April 3, 1826.

This monument is erected at the request of
his maternal Uncle, the Rev. G. Allanson, late Rector of this Parish,
in honour of one whose virtues will long be held in pious remembrance here,
where the poorest of his parishioners regarded him as a friend,
and where he administered to the temporal and spiritual wants of all,
as a father and a faithful guide;
one whose preaching was simple, impressive, charitable, earnest,
and eloquent;
fitted alike to move the affections and convince the understanding;
whose life was a beautiful example of the religion to which it was devoted;
and who, in every station to which he was called,
performed his humblest as well as his highest duties diligently
and cheerfully,
with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his strength.

Extracts from Resolutions passed at a Meeting of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

"The Committee, in obedience to the instructions conveyed to them at the last board, have proceeded to take into consideration the most appropriate means of expressing the sense entertained by the Society, of the important services conferred by the late Lord Bishop of Calcutta on the cause of Christianity in the East, and the serious loss sustained on the death of that eminent prelate, while engaged in the active and personal superintendance of the missions in Southern India, and beg leave to recommend that the following record be inserted on the journals of the Society:

"The Society, deeply impressed with a sense of the loss which the Christian Church in the East has sustained by the death of the late Lord Bishop of Calcutta; and desirous of testifying, in a becoming manner, their admiration of his talents, learning, and piety; his indefatigable zeal in the service of the Church, and ardent devotion to its interests; as well as of expressing their gratitude for his unremitting attention to the missionary establishments of the Society;

"*Do resolve*,

"That, in compliance with the earnest recommendation of Bishop Heber, as contained in his last communication, the Society's Mission College in Calcutta be opened to the admission of foreign theological students, under the provisions set forth in Bishop Heber's despatch; and that, the necessary alterations being made in the College statutes for that purpose, a young deacon from Ararat, Mesrop David by name, specially selected by his lordship, and proposed to be maintained at the bishop's own charge, shall, as a particular mark of respect to the late bishop, be adopted by this Society, and admitted as first student under the new statute.

"The Committee also, in furtherance of the views originally contemplated on the establishment of an episcopal see in British India; and sensibly alive to the importance of securing to the missionary establishments of the Society the advantages of a vigilant and constant superintendance, recommend that the following memorial to his Majesty's government be adopted, and presented to the Right Honourable the Earl of Liverpool, K. G., and the Right Honourable Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, President of the Board of Controul.

"The Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts venture respectfully to invite the attention of his Majesty's government to the present state of the Indian diocese, under the recent loss it has sustained in the death of the Right Reverend Reginald Heber, D. D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

"The Society are compelled to observe, with the deepest regret, that a few years only have passed since the Church had occasion to deplore a similar calamity in the death of Bishop Heber's predecessor, the excellent Bishop Middleton; and their feelings of sorrow are heightened by the consideration, that two eminent prelates appear to have sunk under a burden too heavy for their strength.

"When, indeed, they reflect on the extent of the British Empire in the East, and the relative distances of the establishments under the care of the bishop, they cannot but think that the due administration of such a diocese, requires exertion of body and mind, which, combined with the oppressive influence of the climate, are too great for any single individual.

"Under these impressions they see too much reason to fear that, unless relief is afforded by some more extended arrangement, the same causes which have already deprived the Church of two of its brightest ornaments, will continue to operate with the most disastrous effect on the prosperity of the Indian Church.

"The suspension of the episcopal functions, and of every measure depending on the personal direction of the bishop, for a very considerable period on every vacancy, to which must further be added, the time required by the new bishop to become acquainted with the peculiar na-

ture of his local duties, is in itself a great evil. And if men of attainments and character should, by a succession of unfortunate events, be deterred from accepting this important office, there might be reason to believe, that the system commenced with such promise of success by Bishop Middleton, and continued with equal judgment and power by his lamented successor, might never be carried into full effect.

"With these considerations in view, the Society are impelled by a feeling of duty, most humbly to submit to his Majesty's government the expediency of establishing a Bishoprick in each of the three Presidencies. They are impressed with the fullest conviction that the effect of such a measure would be,

"1st.—That the charge of each bishop would be less disproportioned to his powers.

"2dly.—That men of professional eminence would be more easily induced to undertake the office.

"3dly.—That during the vacancy of any see, the episcopal duties might be performed by one of the other bishops.

"4thly.—That a prospect of rising to the highest situations of the Church, would be opened to the inferior clergy stationed in India, from which they are now precluded, on account of the time which would be lost in the interchange of the necessary communications between that country and Europe.

"Under these circumstances, and influenced by a sense of the duty which devolves upon them as a chartered body, instituted for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Society present their most earnest petition, that his Majesty's government would be pleased to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by the late melancholy event in the Indian diocese, and take into consideration the best means of making provision for the separation of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay from the present diocese of Calcutta, and the erection of two episcopal sees in those extensive regions, distinct from, though subordinate to that which is already established at the seat of the Supreme Government."

Extracts of Resolutions passed at a Meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

A special general meeting of this Society was held on the 6th of December, his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair, at which the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

"That the Society deeply deplores the sudden death of the late Bishop of Calcutta, which has deprived this institution of a valuable friend, the Indian diocese of an unwearied and truly primitive prelate, and the Church at large of one of its brightest ornaments.

* * * * *

"That the Society, being anxious to record its sense of the zeal and energy of this lamented prelate, is of opinion that the best tribute which it can pay to his memory, will be to prosecute the important measures which come recommended to its adoption as his last wishes.

"That the Society, having reference to a desire strongly expressed by the late Bishop of Calcutta, that members of the Asiatic Episcopal Church, not in subordination to the See of Rome, should be admitted into Bishop's College, do agree to place the sum of 2000*l.* at the disposal of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for the foundation of two scholarships, for that purpose, provided they be forever called 'Bishop Heber's Scholarships.'

* * * * * *

"That the Society, while it acknowledges, with the deepest gratitude, the paternal care of His Majesty's government, as well in the formation of an Indian Episcopate, as in the selection of the highly gifted persons who successively devoted themselves to the charge, feels it a paramount duty to repeat the earnest prayers of its memorial, presented in 1812, for the erection of a see at each of the three Presidencies; and to declare its conviction, that no individual, however endowed with bodily and mental vigour, can be sufficient for the exertions rendered necessary by the overwhelming magnitude of the diocese of Calcutta.

"That, in the opinion of the Society, fatally confirmed by the result of the attempt to govern the Indian Church by a single prelate, nothing but a division of this enormous diocese can prevent a continued sacrifice of valuable lives, and a perpetually recurring interruption of the great work, for the accomplishment of which, that episcopal establishment was formed."

* * * * *

Extracts from Resolutions passed at the Meeting of the Church Missionary Society, December 15, 1826.

"The committee, wishing to perpetuate the memory of their regard to the late bishop, have directed the founding of two theological scholarships in Bishop's College, to bear the name of 'Bishop Heber's Church Missionary Scholarships.'

"* * The committee being anxious to record their deep feelings of regret and grief occasioned by the death of the late Bishop of Calcutta,

"It was resolved unanimously, that while this committee would bow with submission to the will of God, they cannot but deeply deplore the loss which this Society, and the Christian Church at large, have sustained by the death of the Right Reverend Reginald Heber, Lord Bishop of Calcutta; and whilst they contemplate, with gratitude to the Giver of all Goodness, the strong faith, ardent zeal, unaffected humility, univer-

sal love, and incessant labours of this distinguished prelate, terminating only with his life, they feel themselves peculiarly bound to commemorate his attachment to the cause of missions, and more especially his wise and parental superintendance of the missionaries of this Society, labouring within his diocese, by whom, they trust, no less than by themselves, he will ever be remembered as a bright example of those graces which most eminently adorn a Christian prelate.

"It appearing to this committee that the establishment of the English episcopacy in India, has been attended with the most beneficial consequences, in reference to both Europeans and natives, but that its increasing cares will press too heavily on any one prelate,—

"It was resolved unanimously, that while the committee beg to express, on the behalf of the Society, their respectful and grateful acknowledgements to his Majesty's government, and to the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company, for the support which they have given to the establishment of episcopacy in India, they unite their humble requests with those of the venerable Societies for Propagating the Gospel and for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for the appointment of such a number of prelates as may be competent to the discharge of the weighty and increased duties of the episcopate in India."

AMERICA.

These are gratifying, as well as striking proofs of the admiration which the character of such a man as Bishop Heber is calculated to excite in the minds, not alone of his countrymen and contemporaries, but of all, whether Christians or Heathen, among whom his lot was cast.* They are scarcely less honourable to the individuals, and to the public bodies from whom they have emanated, than to the memory of him whose early and lamented death has called them forth. But a more remarkable example of the degree in which this feeling has been excited, yet remains to be given, and it is one which the editor has, perhaps, even a still deeper gratification in recording. With America her husband had no connexion either of a public or private nature; with few individuals of that nation was he personally acquainted,—and yet in no country has his name been more honoured.

* Many of those who contributed to the erection of the monuments in India are poor Heathen natives. That these people should, out of their small means, contribute towards perpetuating the memory of one of an opposite faith and country, is very remarkable. The coincidence which, with regard to their situation in life, exists between the list of subscribers in India, and that of the bishop's parishioners at Hodnet, who gave him the piece of plate before he left England, is too obvious to be overlooked.

In the autumn of 1828, the editor received a letter from William Wood, Esq., a gentleman residing in New-York, informing her that her husband's "Journal in India" had been reprinted in that city, and was in extensive circulation through the United States; and that, to use his own words, "it was read by night and by day with the most profound interest, and deep enthusiasm." He also told her that the inhabitants of Canandaigua, a village situated in the interior of the State of New-York, on the direct road to the Falls of Niagara, were so forcibly struck with the talents and virtues of its author, and with the piety which breathes through every sentence, that they caused his name to be engraved in letters of gold, on a rock of granite, which forms a part of the outer foundation of their Episcopal Church, as a memorial of their veneration for his character. At a subsequent period, the vestry of St. John's Church, in the same village, requested Mr. Wood to superintend the erection of a monument in that church to his memory. It is composed of white marble, having an urn on the top, with the following inscription in golden letters engraved on its tablet:—

"To the piety and virtues of Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta, 1829."

A space is left beneath, for his widow's name.

At Portsmouth, in the state of New-Hampshire, through the kindness of Mrs. Abbot, the lady of Professor Abbot, of the College in Exeter, the words, "Sacred to the Memory of Bishop Heber," have been engraved on the front foundation stone of St. John's Church, of which the Rev. Charles Burroughs is rector.

The volume of sermons preached by the bishop in England, which the editor published in 1828, was reprinted in New-York the following year, with the following eloquent preface, from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Wainwright, rector of Grace Church in that city.

Preface to the American Edition of the Bishop's Sermons.

"This edition of the 'Sermons of Bishop Heber preached in England,' is respectfully presented, by the American publishers, to the literary and religious community. It has been executed with great care, page for page with the London edition, and it is believed that it will be found little inferior to that as respects the quality of paper and the style of printing. No expense has been spared; for the object of the publishers was not so much pecuniary profit, as to evince the respect with which the character of the late Bishop of Calcutta is viewed in this country. Few individuals of the present age, born, and nurtured, and performing their important functions, at so great a distance from us, have ever excited such warm or such general interest in their favour. He was indeed a scholar, and the republic of letters extends over the whole surface of the globe—he was a poet, and increased the literary treasures of a language which is also our mother tongue; but more

than all, he was prominent in a cause which breaks down all barriers of distinction between men, and unites those who are engaged in it, in bonds of the most affectionate brotherhood. A devoted friend to the cause of missions, during his whole professional life, and at last a voluntary martyr to that sacred cause, it was in this character he excited our deepest interest, and in contemplating it with admiration and respect, his elegant attainments, his extensive learning, and poetical inspiration, were comparatively unobserved. Now, however, his various excellences have been placed before us in a strong light, and in him we see and acknowledge, 'splendid talents, profound learning, cultivated taste, poetic imagination, the loveliness of domestic virtue, saintly piety, and apostolic zeal, combining together to form a character almost perfect.'

"All these estimable qualities are amply illustrated in his 'Journal in India.'—a work too well known and too highly estimated to need commendation, and one that will make all who have read it, desirous of perusing whatever else may be presented to the public from the same source.

"The American publishers have been anxious to gratify this curiosity by the early publication of the present volume. The sermons it contains, as will be seen by the English preface, were in part prepared for publication by the lamented author. The others were selected by the editor—his widow.—of whom it will be acknowledged, that as she is more deeply interested in his fame than any other person can be, so has she proved by the past execution of her editorial duties, that there are few more competent than herself to extend and establish this fame, both by the publication of his remaining works, and by the Memoir of his Life which is promised. The sermons preached by Bishop Heber while in India, and also a selection from the parochial sermons at Hodnet, are announced in the preface to the present work. We anxiously look forward for the reception of these volumes, and particularly the latter. The clear and forcible exhibitions of scripture truth, the earnest appeals to the conscience, and the affectionate exhortations of such a man as Heber, in the discharge of his duties as pastor of a beloved flock, must possess deep interest, and be calculated for extensive usefulness. The sermons in the present volume, although by no means deficient in the above qualities, nay, on the contrary, distinguished for the union of practical reflection and exhortation with ingenious and learned disquisition; yet being prepared for public occasions and delivered principally before learned bodies, are less adapted to universal perusal than parochial sermons would be. To the man of letters, and the theologian especially, the present work will prove a valuable acquisition, and the publishers have great satisfaction in thus presenting it to their notice."

For these various proofs of the respect and affection which her husband's virtues have inspired in America, the editor takes this opportuni-

ty of publicly expressing her deep obligations. She feels that the warm-hearted persons to whom she is indebted for the communication of these particulars, will be gratified by knowing that few circumstances tended more to soothe the sorrows of her widowed heart, and to soften the severity of her loss, than the consciousness that, in the new as well as in the old world, her husband's character is appreciated according to its just value, and that his name will be handed down to posterity, crowned with the recorded approbation of all good men.

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*Formation of a Diocesan Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Calcutta.**

The Bishop of Calcutta preached for the Society, at the Cathedral, on Advent Sunday, the 27th of November, preparatory to the formation of a Diocesan Committee. We extract the following official report of the proceedings on this occasion :—

"On the day following, the 28th of November, a very numerous and highly respectable assembly met at his lordship's house, at two o'clock, for the purpose of forming a committee in aid of the venerable Society which had been thus ably introduced to the public notice, and with especial reference to Bishop's Mission College.

"The Bishop having taken the chair,

"The Honourable the Chief Justice moved the thanks of the meeting to the Lord Bishop, for his sermon preached yesterday, and their request that he would allow it to be printed.

"The bishop returned thanks, and entered upon the business of the meeting by enlarging on the great importance of the propagation of the Gospel in India, and the spirit of united zeal and prudence, so manifestly necessary in this cause, which has uniformly characterized the exertions of the Church of England, in the various societies connected with her, instanced in their conduct towards those who have offered themselves for baptism. He then adverted to the objects immediately before them, the past history and future prospects of Bishop's College, with the present state of its beautiful but unfinished Gothic buildings; and concluded by announcing the expected transfer to this committee of the diocesan schools, now under the committee of the venerable sister So-

* See page 320.

ciety for Promoting Christian Knowledge; a transfer contemplated by their founder and that of the College, his lamented predecessor, Bishop Middleton, who had, in this hope, kept the school-fund distinct from the other funds of that committee; and no less expected by the leading members of both Societies in England, to whom, indeed, it had been already proposed by the Bishop of Chester.

"The following resolutions were then moved, and carried unanimously:—

"I.—That the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts having, for more than a century, been zealously and successfully engaged in promoting the diffusion and maintenance of Christianity in the colonies of Great Britain, and having now extended its pious labours to the British possessions in the East Indies, under the superintendance of the bishop of the diocese, and with the sanction of all the public authorities, both in England and India, deservedly claims the cordial support of all sincere Christians.

"On this resolution being put, the bishop, explaining the term 'sanction' of government, as applied to the government of British India, stated, that it was by no means intended to imply any influence of government, as such, in the promotion of their objects; but that sanction which they are ready to bestow on every benevolent institution, displayed in various instances, particularly in a grant of land for the College, and also by the active co-operation of many distinguished members of government, in their private and individual capacity.

"II.—That this meeting, being impressed with a high sense of the principles and proceedings of the Society, is further persuaded that Bishop's Mission College, founded by the Society, near Calcutta, presents a safe and practical method of propagating the Gospel among the natives of this country, by the general diffusion of knowledge; the superintendance and publication of religious tracts, of the Liturgy, and versions of Scripture; and the education of persons qualified to act as preachers of the Gospel and school masters.

"III.—That a committee be now formed for the furtherance of these important and benevolent objects, within this archdeaconry, under the immediate sanction of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, to be called 'The Calcutta Diocesan Committee of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,' and that the following be adopted for the general rules of the committee:—

"1.—That the objects of this committee be the furtherance, in India, of the designs of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and more particularly to promote, by such means as are in their power, under the direction of the bishop of the diocese, the establishment and support of the Society's missions and schools within the limits of this archdeaconry; the maintenance and education, in Bishop's Mission College, of proper persons to conduct the same; and the supply to the College and to the Incorporated Society of whatever information they may obtain as to the means and opportunities for missionary exertions in this part of India.

"2.—That the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta be President, the Venerable the Archdeacon of Calcutta and the Reverend the Principal of Bishop's College, Vice-Presidents, and the Treasurer of the Bank of Bengal, Treasurer of this Committee.

"3.—That all contributors to the objects and designs of the Society in this country, to the amount of one hundred and fifty rupees, and all annual subscribers to the amount of one gold mohur, be members of the committee; but that benefactions and subscriptions to any amount be thankfully received.

"4.—That the Reverend Thomas Robinson be appointed Secretary of this committee.

"5.—That the business of this committee be conducted by quarterly meetings, open to all members, of whom three besides the President or Vice-Presidents, shall be a quorum; to be held at the Bishop's house, on the first Monday in March, June, September, and December; and that the annual accounts of the committee be audited at the quarterly meeting in December, from which date annual subscriptions shall be due in every year.

"6.—That a special meeting of the committee may be called, at any time, on due notice by the Secretary, in communication with the President or one of the Vice-Presidents; but that no business be transacted, unless three members be present besides the President or one of the Vice-Presidents.

"7.—That, with reference to the unfinished state of Bishop's College, and regarding that institution as the source whence this and the other presidencies of India are to expect men duly qualified to communicate instruction to the natives of this country, the whole of the sums now collected, and the amount of the first year's subscriptions, after the necessary and incidental expenses of this committee shall be paid, be remitted to Bishop's College; reserving, however, a discretion to this committee to dispose of any subscriptions or donations hereafter entrusted to them, in such manner as may seem to them expedient, in conformity to the first standing rule of this committee, and to the regulations and practice of the Incorporated Society.

"8.—That these be considered as the standing rules and orders of the committee, and that none of them be repealed, suspended, or altered, except at the general meeting of the committee, at which the President or one of the Vice-Presidents and at least five other members, shall be present, and of which fourteen days' notice shall be given to all the members of the Presidency, and that intimation of the repeal, alteration, or suspension, be immediately notified to the President, if he be not present.

"IV.—That these resolutions and rules, together with a memoir of Bishop's Mission College, be printed, and copies of them forwarded to the Incorporated Society in London, to the Archdeacons of Madras, Bombay, Colombo, and Sidney, and to the chief civil and military officers at the several stations under this Presidency.

"V.—That books be opened at the different banks in Calcutta for subscriptions; and that the result of this meeting, and the report of sums collected, be sent to the several newspapers for publication.

"VI.—That the next meeting be held on the first Monday in March, 1826.

"On the motion of Sir John Franks, seconded by Mr. Pottle, resolved unanimously,

"VII.—That the cordial thanks of this meeting be offered to the Lord Bishop for having brought forward and ably conducted the business of the day, and for his exertions on all occasions for the cause of humanity and of the Christian religion.

"The bishop having returned thanks, the meeting adjourned.

"The contributions on the occasion amounted to 8510 rupees in donations, and 1799 in annual subscriptions."

PETITION FROM THE MISSION AT CUDDALORE.*

To the Right Reverend Father in God Reginald Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

Cuddalore, March 17, 1826.

"My Lord,

"Praising Almighty God for having sent your lordship safe to this place, and congratulating ourselves upon the happiness of seeing the

* See page 385

head of the Indian Church among us, I most humbly beg leave to embrace this opportunity to lay before your lordship the state of this little branch of our mission establishment, and present a petition in behalf of the same.

"The mission at Cuddalore was founded about the year 1736, by the Rev. Mr. Schultze. It flourished with various success, and comprehended at seasons upwards of three hundred souls; in which number, probably, also half-caste and Portuguese were included. When Mr. Holtzberg took charge of it, in the year 1804, the number of native Christians was only fifty-three souls, besides children; I found it rather fall short of this number, when, on my arrival, last year, I caused the members of the congregation to be numbered. The servants belonging to the mission are one native catechist, and one native school master.

"The number of children in the native school is about twenty; the school-house being a very small one, and hardly able to hold more.

"A charity school for about fifty soldiers' children, supported by a private fund raised by subscription, and patronized by the commanding-officer, is under the superintendance of the missionary at this station.

"The buildings belonging to our mission are, the church and two mission houses, of which, that which is next to the church is inhabited by the missionary; the other is inhabited by the widow of the late missionary and acting chaplain, Mr. Holtzberg. Both houses are large and convenient, with fine gardens, but they are upwards of seventy years old, and rather in want of repairs.

"The revenues of the mission arise from three Paddy fields, near Cuddalore, which yield an annual rent of 108 rupees, which, however, is not sufficient, the annual current expenses being 240 rupees. A village called Padrecottagam, near Portonovo, belongs to this mission. The revenue arising out of this possession would be more than sufficient to maintain the mission; but on account of arrears due to government, it was sequestered some years ago, by the collector, so the mission does not derive any advantage from it for the present. The Madras District Committee and the missionaries have it under contemplation, either to sell it, if it could be done with some advantage; or pay off the arrears, and carry on the cultivation on account of the mission.

"The mission is, for the present, without debts; but in order to ensure it, for the future, a revenue adequate to its expenditure, and enable the missionary gradually to enlarge the establishment, build a new school, keep the mission houses in repair, &c., I thought it advisable to employ 973 rupees, received as donations from friends on the continent, by the Reverend Dr. Knappin Halle, in erecting a house, to be let out for the benefit of the mission. This house is now building in Fort St. David, where a piece of ground, on a very eligible spot, has been obtained from government.

"But an object, to which I most humbly beg leave, in particular, to call your lordship's attention, is our Mission Church.

"This church was built not very long after the mission was established, but thoroughly repaired, and considerable improvements added, in the year 1795, by subscription. Since that time no particular repairs seem to have taken place; and its present outward appearance bears ample testimony to the unchecked depredations which time has committed upon it. The walls enclosing the church-yard are in a ruinous state, and the gates destroyed. The church itself requires different repairs. The whole could not be done for less than 150 or 200 pagodas, which far exceeds our present means. Formerly the missionaries at this station were, generally, acting chaplains. They do not appear to have received any allowance from government, in order to keep the church in repair, and I do not know whether they had any collections made in the church for the purpose. At present the church has been given up to the use of the military chaplain. Some gentlemen here have been of opinion, that this circumstance, joined to the poverty of the mission, might make an appeal to public and excusable. If it should appear to your lordship as a reason sufficient to justify a call upon the public charity to contribute towards the defraying the expenses of the present repairs, I would most humbly ask the favour, that your lordship would be pleased to grant permission, that a subscription for the use of the church might be made among the residents at this station; and, as the church is mission property, that the missionary might be permitted to have the sole management of the money thus collected, or circulating afterwards among the donors an account of its appropriation.

"The repairs, if the fund obtained admitted of it, were not only to be circumscribed to the most necessary things, but also to extend to the inward improvement of the church, of which part a better and larger accommodation for the English congregation (which might be effected by changing the situation of the pews, and increasing their number,) has by many been considered a very desirable object.

"Recommending this most humble petition to your lordship's favourable consideration, with my own and family's most sincere prayers, that it may please God to prosper your lordship through His choicest blessings,

"I have the honour to be, my lord,

"Your lordship's most humble obedient servant,

"D. ROSEN.

"Missionary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge."

STATE OF THE DANISH MISSION AT TRANQUEBAR

To the Right Reverend Father in God Reginald Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

Tranquebar, Feb. 8, 1826.

May it please your lordship,

"This mission was, for upwards of a century, in a most flourishing state, and had from five to seven missionaries to conduct its concerns; who stood under the Mission College in Copenhagen, and were allowed, without the interference of the local government, to carry on its affairs in the way which long experience had taught them to be the best. They went about in the Tanjore country especially to spread the Gospel, and by degrees established twelve congregations, besides the two in this territory. In their schools here they had between four and five hundred, the most promising of whom were educated for country priests, catechists, or school masters; and from their press went forth thousands of books to enlighten the benighted nations.

"But since about thirteen years, the number of missionaries has been reduced to only two, (the Rev. Dr. Gommerand myself;) and as the former has, besides, to perform Divine Service every fortnight in the Danish Church, that congregation having been left for more than twenty two years without a clergyman, we are obliged to leave the performance of Divine Service, in one or other of our congregations, to our catechists.

"We have also, since the year 1816, at which time this colony was restored to the Danes by the English, not received the stipulated sum allowed towards the support of this mission, and have, therefore, been under the painful necessity of transforming all our country congregations to the Honourable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; also, to admit in our Country Schools a small number of the poorer children only; on account of which, not less than fifty children are always growing up in the grossest ignorance, hearing nothing of Christianity till they come to be prepared for confirmation.

"But though this mission has, under these circumstances, been greatly reduced, yet the government here have now conceived a plan, which will be carried into execution as soon as its approbation shall have arrived from Europe, which will bring it to a much lower ebb.

"The plan is as follows:—

"1st.—The denomination of missions and missionaries is to be abolished, as we need not convert the natives any more.

"2dly.—There are to be only two clergymen to officiate in the Danish and Malabar congregations.

"3dly.—The Portuguese, though they understand Tamil very indifferently, are to be deprived of Divine Service in their language.

"4thly.—The charity-schools are to be no more, but only free instruction to be afforded to the children.

"And, lastly, the two clergymen and the school-masters are to stand under the government, and receive their salaries from them.

"In the mean time, ere the approbation of the above-mentioned plan has come out, the government have sold three of the mission-houses, and taken from us for their own use, the extensive buildings of the Malabar school, and the house where the Portuguese school, the printing office, the stores of printed books, and materials for printing and book binding had been kept; so that little is now left to us.

"As soon as we shall be ordered to discontinue the charity-schools, (of which there were hitherto two for the natives and two for the Portuguese,) where the children are fed and clothed, we shall hardly have any schools left; for those parents who can afford to maintain their children, will prefer sending them to the schools that are supported by the Church Missionary Society, where they have the prospect of their being made seminarists,—where they will be maintained, and afterward taken into their service as school-masters, &c.; and the children of the poor will, in consequence of their being obliged to endeavour to earn something towards their support, not be able to attend school, and will therefore grow up without any instruction, and become nothing better than the Heathen.

* * * * * * * * *

"Under these afflicting circumstances, occasioned by the decayed and still decaying state of this mission, together with the desire of becoming more useful than I find it possible for me to be here under present circumstances, * * * * * * * * I wish to exchange my situation for one where I can labour with greater satisfaction; and seeing that the Vepery, Trichinopoly, and Palamcottah missions stand so much in need of missionaries, I presume to offer my services to your lordship, most humbly begging, at the same time, to assure your lordship that I do not act upon any sinister principle, and that I have no personal interest in view.

"Should your lordship kindly accept of my offer, I shall, however not be able to leave this mission without having first obtained my dismission from Europe; and as it usually takes up a long time before an answer to our applications to Denmark can be obtained, I intend to proceed thither myself, and having got my dismission, to return without delay.

"I have the honour to remain

"Your lordship's most obedient

"and humble servant

"D. SCHULTZE."

ON THE PORTRAIT OF REGINALD HEBER.

BY ROBERT SOUTHEY.

I.

Yes, . . such as these were Heber's lineaments;
Such his capacious front,
His comprehensive eye,
His open brow serene.
Such was the gentle countenance which bore
Of generous feeling, and of golden truth,
Sure Nature's sterling impress; never there
Unruly passion left
Its ominous marks unfix'd,
Nor the worse die of evil habit set
An inward stain engrained.
Such were the lips whose salient playfulness
Enliven'd peaceful hours of private life;
Whose eloquence
Held congregations open-ear'd,
As from the heart it flowed, a living stream
Of Christian wisdom, pure and undefiled.

II.

And what if there be those
Who, in the cabinet
Of memory, hold enshrined
A livelier portraiture,
And see in thought, as in their dreams,
His actual image, vividly produced;
Yet shall this counterfeit convey
To strangers, and preserve for after time,
All that could perish of him, . . all that else
Even now had past away:
For he hath taken with the Living Dead
His honourable place, . .
Yea with the Saints of God
His holy habitation . . Hearts, to which
Through ages he shall speak,
Will yearn towards him; and they too, (for such
Will be,) who gird their loins
With truth to follow him,

Having the breast plate on of righteousness.
The helmet of salvation, and the shield
Of faith, . . they too will gaze
Upon his effigy
With reverential love,
Till they shall grow familiar with its lines,
And know him when they see his face in heaven

III.

Ten years have held their course
Since last I look'd upon
That living countenance.
When on Llangedwin's terraces we paced
Together, to and fro;
Partaking there its hospitality,
We with its honoured master spent,
Well pleased, the social hours;
His friend and mine, . . my earliest friend, whom I
Have ever, through all changes, found the same,
From boyhood to grey hairs,
In goodness, and in worth and warmth of heart
Together then we traced
The grass grown site, where armed feet once trod
The threshold of Glendower's embattled hall;
Together sought Melangel's lonely church,
Saw the dark yews majestic in decay,
Which in their flourishing strength
Cyveilioc might have seen;
Letter by letter traced the lines
On Yorworth's fabled tomb;
And curiously observed what vestiges,
Mouldering and mutilate,
Of Monacella's legend there are left,
A tale humane, itself
Well nigh forgotten now:
Together visited the ancient house
Which from the hill-slope takes
Its Cymric name euphonious, there to view,
Though drawn by some rude limner inexpert,
The faded portrait of that lady fair,
Beside whose corpse her husband watch'd,
And with perverted faith,
Preposterously placed,
Thought, obstinate in hopeless hope, to see
The beautiful dead, by miracle, revive

IV.

The sunny recollections of those days
Full soon were overcast, when Heber went
Where half this wide world's circle lay
Between us interposed.
A messenger of love he went,
A true evangelist;
Not for ambition, nor for gain,
Nor of constraint, save such as duty lays
Upon the disciplin'd heart,
Took he the overseeing on himself
Of that wide flock dispers'd,
Which, till these latter times,
Had there been left to stray
Neglected all too long.
For this great end devotedly he went,
Forsaking friends and kin,
His own loved paths of pleasantness and peace,
Books, leisure, privacy,
Prospects (and not remote) of all wherewith
Authority could dignify desert;
And, dearer far to him,
Pursuits that with the learned and the wise
Should have assured his name its lasting place.

V.

Large, England, is the debt
Thou owest to Heathendom;
To India most of all, where Providence,
Giving thee thy dominion there in trust,
Upholds its baseless strength.
All seas have seen thy red-cross flag
In war triumphantly display'd;
Late only hast thou set that standard up
On Pagan shores in peace!
Yea, at this hour the cry of blood
Riseth against thee, from beneath the wheels
Of that seven-headed Idol's car accurst;
Against thee, from the widow's funeral pile
The smoke of human sacrifice
Ascends, even now, to heaven!

VI.

The debt shall be discharged; the crying sin
Silenc'd: the foul offence

For ever done away.
Thither our saintly Heber went,
In promise and in pledge
That England, from her guilty torpor rous'd,
Should zealously and wisely undertake
Her awful task assign'd:
Thither, devoted to the work, he went.
There spent his precious life.
There left his holy dust.

VII.

How beautiful are the feet of him
That bringeth good tidings,
That publisheth peace,
That bringeth good tidings of good,
That proclaimeth salvation for men!
Where'er the Christian Patriarch went,
Honour and reverence heralded his way.
And blessings followed him.
The Malabar, the Moor, the Cingalese,
Though unilluined by faith,
Yet not the less admired
The virtue that they saw.
The European soldier, there so long
Of needful and consolatory rites
Injuriously deprived,
Felt, at his presence, the neglected seed
Of early piety
Refresh'd, as with a quickening dew from heaven.
Native believers wept for thankfulness
When on their heads he laid his hallowing hands
And, if the Saints in bliss
Be cognizant of aught that passeth here,
It was a joy for Schwartz
To look from Paradise that hour
Upon his earthly flock.

VIII.

Ram boweth down,
Creeshna and Seeva stoop;
The Arabian moon must wane to wax no more
And Ishmael's seed redeem'd,
And Esau's . . to their brotherhood,
And to their better birth-right then restored
Shall within Israel's covenant be brought

Drop down, ye heavens, from above!
Ye skies, pour righteousness!
Open thou earth, and let
Salvation be brought forth!
And sing ye, O ye heavens, and shout, O earth,
With all thy hills and vales,
Thy mountains and thy woods,
Break forth into a song, a jubilant song,
For by Himself the Lord hath sworn
That every tongue to Him shall swear
To Him that every knee shall bow.

IX.

Take comfort then, my soul!
Thy latter days on earth,
Tho' few, shall not be evil, by this hope
Supported, and enlightened on the way
O Reginald, one course,
Our studies and our thoughts,
Our aspirations held,
Wherein, but mostly in this blessed hope
We had a bond of union, closely knit
In spirit, tho' in this world's wilderness
Apart our lots were cast.
Seldom we met; but I knew well
That whatsoe'er this never-idle hand
Sent forth would find with thee
Benign acceptance, to its full desert.
For thou wert of that audience, . . fit, tho' few
For whom I am content
To live laborious days,
Assured that after years will ratify
Their honourable award.

X.

Hadst thou revisited thy native land
Mortality, and Time,
And Change, must needs have made
Our meeting mournful. Happy he
Who to his rest is borne
In sure and certain hope,
Before the hand of age
Hath chill'd his faculties,
Or sorrow reach'd him in his heart of hearts.
Most happy if he leave in his good name

A light for those who follow him
And in his works a living seed
Of good, prolific still.

XI.

Yes, to the Christian, to the Heathen world
Heber, thou art not dead, . . thou canst not die
Nor can I think of thee as lost.
A little portion of this little isle
At first divided us; then half the globe
The same earth held us still; but when
O Reginald, wert thou so near as now?
'Tis but the falling of a withered leaf.
The breaking of a shell . .
The rending of a veil!
Oh when that leaf shall fall,
That shell be burst, . . that veil be rent, . . may then
My spirit be with thine!

TO THE MEMORY OF

REGINALD HEBER, BISHOP OF CALCUTTA

BY MRS. OPIE.

How well I remember the day I first met thee!
'Twas in scenes long forsaken, in moments long fled
Then, little I thought that a WORLD would regret thee!
And Europe and Asia *both* mourn for thee dead!

Ah! little I thought in those gay social hours,
That round thy young head e'en the *laurel* would twine
Still less that a crown of the amaranth's flowers,
Enwreath'd with the *palm*, would, O Heber! be thine

We met in the world, and the light that shone round thee
Was the dangerous blaze of wit's meteor ray;
But e'en then, though unseen, mercy's angel had found thee
And the bright star of Bethlehem was marking thy way

To the banks of the Isis, a far different dwelling
Thy footsteps return'd, and thy hand to its lyre
While thy heart with the bard's bright ambition was swelling
But holy the theme was that waken'd its fire

Again in the world, and with worldlings I met thee,
And then thou wert welcom'd as *Palestine's bard* ;
They had *scorn'd* at the task which the SAVIOUR had set thee,
The Christian's rough labour, the martyr's reward.

Yet,* the one was thy calling, thy portion the other ;
The far shores of India received thee, and blest,
And its lowliest of teachers dared greet as a brother,
And love thee, though clad in the prelate's proud vest.

In the meek humble Christian forgot was thy greatness,
The follower they saw of a crucified Lord,
For thy zeal show'd His spirit, thy accents His sweetness,
And the heart of the Heathen drank deep of the Word.

Bright as short was thy course, "when a coal from the altar"
Had touch'd thy blest lip, and the voice bade thee "Go!"
Thy haste could not pause, and thy step could not falter,
Till o'er India's wide seas had advanced thy swift prow.

In vain her fierce sun with its cloudless effulgence,
Seem'd arrows of death to shoot forth with each ray ;
Thy faith gave to fear and fatigue no indulgence,
But *on to the goal* urged thy perilous way !

And martyr of zeal ! thou e'en *here* went rewarded,
When the dark sons of India came round thee in throngs,
While thee, as a father they fondly regarded,
Who taught them, and blest in their own native tongues.

When thou heard'st them, their faith's awful errors disclaiming,
Profess the pure creed which the Saviour had given,
Those moments thy mission's blest triumph proclaiming,
Gave joy which to thee seem'd a foretaste of heaven.†

Still, "On!" cried the voice, and surrounding their altar,
Trichinopoly's sons hail'd thy labours of love ;
Ah me! with no fear did mine accents then falter,
No secret forebodings thy conscious heart move!

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* At first he refused the appointment but, after "devout prayer" he accepted, it, thinking it was his duty to do so.

† When they gathered round him on Easter day evening, to the amount of thirteen hundred, and he blessed them in their native tongue, he exclaimed, "he would gladly purchase that day with years of his life."

Thou had'st ceased—having taught them what Rock to rely on,
And had'st doft the proud robes which to prelates belong;
But the next robe for thee was the *white robe of Zion*,*
The next hymn thou heard'st was "the seraphim's song."

Here hush'd be my lay for a far sweeter verse—
Thy requiem I'll breathe in thy numbers alone;
For the bard's votive offering to hang on thy hearse,
Should be form'd of no language less sweet than *thy own*

"Thou art gone to the grave, but we will not deplore thee,
Since God was thy refuge, thy ransom, thy guide;
He gave thee, He took thee, and He will restore thee,
And death has no sting, since the Saviour has died."

TO THE MEMORY OF BISHOP HEBER

BY MRS. HEMAN'S.

Is it be sad to speak of treasures gone;
Of sainted genius call'd too soon away,
Of light, from this world taken while it shone
Yet kindled onward to the perfect day;
How shall our grief, if mournful these things be,
Flow forth, O guide and gifted friend, for thee?

Hath not thy voice been here among us heard?
And that deep soul of gentleness and power,
Have we not felt its breath in every word
Wont from thy lip, as Hermon's dew, to shower?
Yes! in our hearts thy fervent thoughts have burned—
Of heaven they were, and thither are returned.

How shall we mourn thee? With a lofty trust,
Our life's immortal birth-right from above!
With a glad faith, whose eye, to track the just
Through shades and mysteries, lifts a glance of love.
And yet can weep! for nature so deplores
The friend that leaves us, though for happier shores.

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* He had scarcely put off his robes in which he officiated at the altar, when he was suddenly called away "to be clothed in immortality."

And one high tone of triumph o'er thy bier;
One strain of solemn rapture be allow'd—
Thou who, rejoicing in thy mid career,
Not to decay, but unto death hast bow'd—
In those bright regions of the rising sun,
Where victʼry neʼer a crown like thine hath won.

Praise! for yet one more name, with power endow'd
To cheer and guide us onward as we press;
Yet one more image, on the heart bestow'd,
To dwell there—beautiful in holiness!
Thine, Heber, thine! whose memʼry from the dead
Shines as the star which to the Saviour led.

ELEGY ON BISHOP HEBER.

BY THE REV. J. W. CUNNINGHAM.

He fell not in climbing the icy steep
Which ambition delights to scale;
For the deeds of his arm not a widow shall weep,
Or an orphan her father bewail:
It was not in piercing the mountain's side
For the mine's forbidden treasure;
Or in pushing his bark o'er the shallow tide
Of bright, but delusive pleasure.

Here honour and interest woo'd him to rest,
And spoke of the evils to come;
And love clasped him close to her cowardly breast,
And whispered the joys of his home;
But zeal for his Lord dissolved every chain
By which we endeavoured to bind him:
He paid every tear, by tears back again,
But cast all our wishes behind him.

And he mounted the deck, and we saw him depart
From our breezy and verdant shore;
And we left him, in sadness and sickness of heart,
To think we might see him no more;
But he sought the far coast of the sultry land,
Where the sun never knows a cloud;

And he planted his foot on the burning strand
And his head at the altar he bowed :

And his soul, by the solemn oath he bound,
To live and to die for the Lord ;
The idol temples to strew on the ground,
And to publish the life-giving Word ;
And he preached it by day, and by dewy eve,
And when night had darkened the plain.
Ah ! who shall the tale of his labours weave,
And, so, give us our brother again ?

He fell, as he conquered ; a sorrowing crowd
Of each people, and language, and tongue,
Pressed sadly around his cold grave, and, aloud,
Their heart-broken obsequies sung :
" Our brother has fallen ; and, low in the dust,
Do his earthly relics slumber ;
But his spirit is gone to the land where the just
Surround the ' white throne' without number."

But his grave has a voice and I hear it proclaim,
" Go forward, till day chases night ;
Till all nations adore th' unspeakable Name,
And the world's one wide ocean of light ;
Till our God is enthroned on Judah's dark hills,
And sheathes His all conquering sword ;
Till the desolate earth with His glory He fills,
And all realms are the realms of the Lord."

MORTE D'ARTHUR

A FRAGMENT.

CANTO I.

It was the blessed morn of Whitsuntide,
And Carduel echoed to the festive call,
And his shrill task the clear-voiced herald plied
And shriller trumpet shook the castle wall

I.

Ye whom the world has wrong'd, whom men despise,
Who sadly wander through this vale of tears.
And lift in silent dread your wistful eyes
O'er the bleak wilderness of future years,
Where from the storm no sheltering bourn appears;
Whom genius, moody guide, has led astray,
And pride has mock'd, and want, with chilling fears,
Quench'd of each youthful hope the timid ray;
Yet envy not the great, yet envy not the gay!

II.

Say, can the silken bed refreshment bring,
When from the restless spirit sleep retires;
Or, the sharp fever of the serpent's sting,
Pains it less shrewdly for his burnish'd spires?
Oh, worthless is the bliss the world admires,
And helpless whom the vulgar mightiest deem;
Tasteless fruition, impotent desires,
Pomp, pleasure, pride, how valueless ye seem
When the poor soul awakes, and find its life a dream!

III.

And those, if such may ponder o'er my song,
Whose light heart bounds to pleasure's minstrelsy,
To whom the fairy realms of love belong;
And the gay motes of young prosperity,
Dance in thy sunshine and obscure thine eye;
Suspect of earthly good the gilded snare,
When sorrow wreathes her brow with revelry,
And friendship's hollow smiles thy wreck prepare!
Alas! that demon forms should boast a mask so fair!

IV.

See'st thou yon flutterer in the summer sky,
Wild as thy glance, and graceful as thy form?
Yet lady, know, yon beauteous butterfly
Is parent of the loathsome canker-worm,
Whose restless tooth, worse than December's storm,
Shall mar thy woodbine bower with greedy rage.—
Fair was her face as thine, her heart as warm,
Whose antique story marks my simple page;
Yet luckless youth was her's, and sorrowful old age!

V.

'Twas merry in the streets of Carduel,
When Pentecost renew'd her festive call,
And the loud trumpet's clang and louder bell
The moss-grown abbey shook, and banner'd wall;
And still from bow'r to mass, from mass to hall,
A sea of heads throughout the city flow'd;
And, rob'd in fur, in purple, and in pall,
Of knights and dames the gaudy pageant yode,
And conquering Arthur last, and young Ganora rode.

VI.

Still as they pass'd, from many a scaffold high,
And window lattice scatter'd roses flew,
And maidens, leaning from the balcony,
Bent their white necks the stranger bride to view,
Whom that same morn, or ere the sparkling dew
Had from his city's herb-strewn pavement fled,
A village maid, who rank nor splendour knew,
To Mary's aisle the conqueror's hand had led,
To deck her monarch's throne, to bless her monarch's bed.

VII.

Who then was joyful but the Logrian king?
Not that his hand a five-fold sceptre bore; (1)
Not that the Scandian raven's robber wing
Stoop'd to his dragon banner, and the shore
Of peopled Gallia, and where ocean hoar
Girds with his silver ring the island green
Of saints and heroes; not that paynim gore
Clung to his blade, and, first in danger seen
In many a forward fight his golden shield had been.

VIII.

Nor warrior fame it was, nor kingly state
That swelled his heart, though in that thoughtful eye
And brow that might not, ev'n in mirth, abate
Its regal care and wonted majesty,
Unlike to love, a something seem'd to lie;
Yet love's ascendant planet rul'd the hour.
And as he gaz'd with lover's ecstacy,
And blended pride upon that beauteous flower,
Could fame, could empire vie with such a paramour?

IX.

For many a melting eye of deepest blue,
And many a form of goodliest mould were there,
And ivory necks and lips of coral hue,
And many an auburn braid of glossy hair.
But ill might all those gorgeous dames compare
With her in flowers and bridal white arrayed;
Was none so stately form nor face so fair
As hers, whose eyes, as mournful or afraid,
Were big with heavy tears, the trembling village maid.

X.

Yet whoso list her dark and lucid eye,
And the pure witness of her cheek to read,
Might written mark in nature's registry,
That this fair rustic was not such indeed,
But high-born offspring of some ancient seed
And, sooth, she was the heir of Carmelide,
And old Ladugan's blood, whose daring deed
With rebel gore Lancastrian meadows dyed,
Or ere that Uther's son his mightier aid supplied

XI.

But, when the murd'rous Ryence' archer band
With broad destruction swept the Ribble side,
Ladugan forth from that devoted land,
His daughter sent, a smiling babe, to bide
Where Derwent's lonely mirror dark and wide
Reflects the dappled heaven and purple steep,
Unhonoured there, unown'd and undescried,
Till fate compelled her from her tended sheep,
In Arthur's kingly bower to wear a crown and weep

XII.

There are who teach such crystal drops express
(So near is each extreme of joy or woe)
Alike, the burst of painful happiness,
And the still smart of misery's inward throe.
From man's perturbed soul alike they flow,
Where bitter doubt and recollected sorrow
Blend with the cup of bliss, and none can know
From human grief how short a space to borrow,
Or how the fairest eve may bring the darkest morrow

XIII.

Say, fared it thus with young Ganora's heart,
Did hope, did Hymen call the rapturous tear?
Or mourn'd perchance the village maid to part
From all the humble joys her heart held dear?
And, turning from that kingly front severe,
Roam'd her sad memory o'er each milder grace
Of him her earliest love, the forestere?
Ah lost for ever now! yet sweet to trace
The silver studded horn, green garb, and beardless face.

XIV.

The chaunted anthem's heaven-ascending sound
Her spirit moved not with its sacred swell;
And, all in vain, from twenty steeples round
Crash'd with sonorous din the festive bell;
Upon her tranced ear in vain it fell;
As little mark'd she, that the monarch's tongue
Would oft of love in courtly whisper tell;
While from the castle bridge a minstrel throng,
To many a gilded harp attuned the nuptial song

XV.

"Ah see," 'twas thus began the lovely lay,
"The warrior-god hath laid his armour by.
And doft his deadly sword, awhile to play
In the dark radiance of Dione's eye;
Snar'd in her raven locks behold him lie,
And on her lap his dreadful head reclin'd:
May every knight such silken fetters try,
Such mutual bands may every lady bind!
How blest the soldier's life if love were always kind!

XVI.

" Oh Goddess of the soul-entrancing zone,
Look down and mark a fairer Venus here,
Call'd from her hamlet to an empire's throne,
As meet of womankind the crown to wear,
And of a nobler Mars the consort dear!
Oh fairest, mildest, best, by heav'n design'd
With soothing smiles his kingly toil to cheer,
Still may thy dulcet chain the conqueror bind.
Sure earth itself were heav'n if love were always kind!"

XVII.

So sang they till the gaudy train had past
The sullen entrance of that ancient tower,
Which o'er the trembling wave its shadow cast,
Grim monument of Rome's departed power.
That same, in Albion's tributary hour,
The Latian lords of earth had edified,
Which all unharm'd in many a martial stour,
Might endless as the stedfast hills abide,
Or as th' eternal stream that crept its base beside.

XVIII.

And Arthur here had fix'd his kingly see,
And hither had he borne his destin'd bride,
Amid those civil storms secure to be
That rock'd the troublous land on every side.
For not the fell balista, bristling wide
With barbed death, or whirling rocks afar,
Nor ought by that Trinacrian artist tried,
To save his leagured town such strength could mar.
How easy then to mock the barbarous Saxon war.

XIX.

Austere and stern, a warrior front it wore,
The long dim entrance to that palace pile,
And crisped moss, and lichen ever hoar,
Trail'd their moist tresses in the portal aisle.
But, past the gate, like some rude veteran's smile,
Kindly, though dark, a milder grace it show'd;
And music shook the courts, and all the while
Fair stripling youth's along the steepy road,
Fresh flowers before their feet and myrtle branches strew'd.

XX.

By them they pass, and now the giant hall
Bids to the train its oaken valves unfold,
From whose high raftered roof and arched wall,
Five hundred pennons, prize of war, unroll'd.
In various silk display'd and waving gold,
The armories of many a conquer'd knight;
And some of Arthur's sword the fortune told,
Of Gawain some, but most were redde aright,
"These Lancelot du Lake achiev'd in open fight."

XXI.

Here might I sing (what many a bard has sung)
Each gorgeous usage of that kingly hall;
How harp, and voice, and clashing goblet rung,
Of page and herald, bard and seneschall.
But antique times were rude and homely all;
And ill might Arthur's nuptial banquet vie,
With their's who nature's kindly fruits forestall,
And brave the seas for frantic gluttony,
And every various bane of every clime supply.

XXII.

Nor car'd the king, a soldier tried and true,
For such vain pamp'ring of impure delight.
His toys, his gauds were all of manlier hue,
Swift steeds, keen dogs, sharp swords, and armour bright;
Yet wanted nought that well became a knight
Of seemly pomp; the floor with rushes green,
And smooth bright board with plenteous viands dight,
That scant the load might bear, though well be seen
With ribs and rafters strong, and pond'rous oak between.

XXIII.

And shame it were to pass the warrior state
Of those, the favour'd few, whose table round,
Fast by their sovereign and his beauteous mate,
Apart from all the subject train, was crown'd,
Whose manly locks with laurel wreaths were bound,
And ermine wrapt their limbs; yet on the wall
Their helms, and spears, and painted shields were found,
And mails, and gilded greaves, at danger's call,
Aye prompt for needful use whatever chance might fall.

XXIV.

And bounded high the monarch's heart of pride,
  Who gaz'd exulting on that noble crew;
And, leaning to his silent spouse, he cried,
  "Seest thou, Ganore, thy band of liegemen true?
  Lo, these are they whose fame the liquid blue
Of upper air transcends; nor lives there one
  Of all who gaze on Phœbus' golden hue,
From earth's cold circle to the burning zone,
To whom of Arthur's knights the toil remains unknown.

XXV.

"Yes, mark him well, the chief whose auburn hair
  So crisply curls above his hazel eye,
And parted, leaves the manly forehead bare.
  That same is Gawain, flower of courtesy;
Yet few with him in listed field may vie.
  Gahriet the next, in blood the next and might;
  And Carados whose lady's loyalty
The mantle gained and horn of silver bright; (2)
And stout Sir Kay, stout heart, but not so strong in fight.

XXVI.

"But he, the best of all and bravest peer,
  That drinks this hour the crystal air of day;
The most renowned and to me most dear,
  As ill befalls, is journeyed far away,
  A strange and stern adventure to essay,
Whom heav'n defend, and to his friend's embrace
  Again resistless Lancelot convey!"
So spake the king, and more his words to grace,
An unsuspected tear stole down his manly face.

XXVII.

To whom with faltering voice Ganora spake
  "Oh happy knights of such a king," she said,
"And happy king for whose revered sake
  So valiant knights unsheathe the deadly blade!
  And worthless I, an untaught village maid,
In Arthur's court to fill the envied throne,
  Who meeter far in russet weeds arrayed,
  Had fed my flock on Skiddaw's summit lone,
Unknowing of mankind and by mankind unknown."

XXVIII.

The monarch smil'd, a proud protecting smile,
That spoke her lovelier for her lowliness;
And, bending from his loftier seat the while,
Hung o'er her heaving form, yet ill could guess
What terror strove within, what deep distress
Rose in her painful throat, while struggling there,
A stronger awe the sob would fain repress;
Nor other cause he sought than maiden fear
To chill the shrinking hand, to call the trickling tear.

XXIX

"Mine own Ganore!" he said, "my gentle maid!
Oh deem not of thyself unworthily;
By charms like thine a king were well repaid,
Who yielded up for love his royalty.
And heroes old, and they that rule the sky,
Have sought in lowly cot, as fables tell,
A purer love than gems or gold can buy,
And beauty oftener found in mountain cell,
Than with the lofty dames in regal court who dwell.

XXX.

"Go, ask the noblest of my knightly power,
Ask of Sir Lancelot what secret pain
So oft hath drawn him forth at twilight hour,
To woods and wilds, his absent love to plain,
Whom many a courtly fair hath sought in vain?
Oh, he will tell thee that the green wood tree
Recalls the hour of happier youth again,
When blithe he wont to range the forest free,
With her, his earliest choice, the maid of low degree."

XXXI.

He ceas'd, to whom the maiden nought replied,
But in the patience of her misery
Possess'd her secret soul, and inly sigh'd.
"Why ponder thus on what no more may be?
Why think on him who never thinks on thee?
For now seven autumns have with changing hue
Embrown'd the verdure of our trysting tree,
Since that shrill horn the wonted signal blew,
Or that swift foot was heard brushing the twilight dew.

XXXII.

" Then rouse thee yet thy silent griefs to bear,
And rein the troublous thoughts so far that rove:
Faithless or dead, he little needs thy care;
And ill such thoughts a wedded wife behove;
Then turn to him who claims thy plighted love;
Nor weeping thus, thine inward shame confess,
Whom knightly worth nor regal state may move;
Nor he whom Albion's sister islands bless,
Can tame thy stubborn grief and minion frowardness!"

XXXIII.

So sadly pass'd the festal eve away,
While at each courteous word her bosom bled,
And every glance her heart could ill repay,
Through the chill conscience like a dagger sped.
Yet still with secret prayer her soul she fed,
And burst with holier thoughts each inward snare,
Which, in that wither'd heart, where hope was dead,
Yet hopeless passion wove, and darkest there,
The dreadful whisper crept of comfortless despair.

XXXIV.

And softer seem'd her silent grief to flow,
And sweeter far her unrestrained tear,
While soft and sweet, a tale of tender woe
Iöla wove, the bard, whose harp to hear
Ev'n the rude warder, leaning on his spear,
Press'd to the further door; and squire, and knight,
And lingering pages on those accents dear,
Paus'd round th' unserv'd board; and ladies bright,
Breathless, with lips unclos'd, drank in the wild delight.

XXXV.

A strange and melancholy tale it was,
" Of one who, for a tyrant uncle's right
Lay bleeding, breathless, on the crimson grass,
All vainly victor in th' unequal fight;
And who is she whose hands of lily white,
Too beauteous leech! his festering hurt would bind?
Ah, fly thee, princess, from the Cornish knight,
Who, now preserv'd, a sorer fate must find,
By guilt, and late remorse, and hopeless passion pin'd.

XXXVI.

" Yet pleasant was the dawn of early love,
And sweet the fairy bowl of magic power! (3)
But following mists the early heat reprove,
And April frosts abash the timid flower.
Behold him now at midnight's harmful hour,
His pale cheek pillow'd on his trembling knees,
Whose frantic brain rejects the sheltering bower,
Whose parch'd bosom woos the autumnal breeze,
And whose poor broken heart sighs with the sighing trees.

XXXVII.

" Ah, sweet it seem'd when, through the livelong day,
'Mid tall Ierne's forest dark and wide,
In hunter garb he took his tireless way,
Love in his breast and Yseult at his side!
Gone are those days! Oh Yseult oft he cried,
Relentless Yseult, beauteous enemy!
May happier fate thy gentle life betide,
Nor ever may'st thou waste a tear on me,
Nor guess the nameless tomb of him who pin'd for thee!

XXXVIII.

" And Lancelot! (for, lordlings, well ye know
How Tristan aye to Lancelot was dear)
Sir Lancelot! he sung, of all below
The best, the bravest, and the worthiest peer!
To thee my helm I leave, and shield and spear,
That not from harm their wretched lord might save.
Yet noblest friend my last petition hear,
By thine own secret love a boon I crave,
Defend mine Yseult's fame when I am laid in grave."

XXXIX.

Here ceas'd the harp; but o'er its trembling chord
In silent grief the minstrel's sorrow fell,
And silence hush'd the throng where all deplor'd
The recent woes of knight who loved so well,
And most had known the heir of Lionelle;
And sweet it seem'd for other's woe to weep
To her whose secret anguish none could tell;
Yet nigh such strain could lull her pangs to sleep;
And now the star of eve beam'd o'er the twilight deep,

XL.

When, in that sober light and sadness still,
  Arose a maddening hubbub hoarse and rude,
Like hunters on the brow of dewy hill,
  And panting deer by nearer hounds pursued:
And a cold shudder thrill'd the multitude,
As, at the breath of that mysterious horn,
  Each with inquiring gaze his neighbour view'd,
For never peal on woodland echoes borne,
So ghastly and so shrill awoke the spangled morn.

XLI.

At once the steely bars in twain were rent;
  At once the oaken valves asunder flew;
And warrior breasts, in iron corslets pent,
  Their tighten'd breath with painful effort drew;
  For louder, louder far the tumult grew,
That earth's firm planet quaked at the din,
  And the thick air assumed a browner hue,
Such as on Nilus' bank hath whilom bin,
When Amram's mighty son rebuk'd the tyrant's sin.

XLII.

And through the portal arch that open'd wide
  (How came she or from whence no thought could tell)
The wedding guests with fearful wonder eyed,
  A hind of loveliest mould, whose snowy fell
  Was dyed, alas! with dolorous vermeill.
For down her ruffled flank the current red,
  From many a wound issued in fatal well,
As staggering faint with feeble haste she sped,
And on Ganora's head reclined her piteous head.

XLIII.

With claws of molten brass, and eyes of flame,
  A grisly troop of hell hounds thronging near,
And on her foamy steed a damsel came,
  A damsel fair to see, whose maiden cheer
  But ill beseem'd the ruthless hunting spear;
Whose golden locks in silken net were twin'd,
  And pure as heaving snow her bosom dear;
Yet ceas'd she not that dreadful horn to wind,
And strain'd a quivering dart for fatal use design'd.

XLIV.

Reckless of loathed life, and free from stain
Of deep transgression, could Ganora fear!
Forlorn herself, she felt for other's pain,
And cast her shelt'ring robe around the deer.
To whom that magic maid, with brow severe
And glaring eye, "Oh, doom'd to lasting woe,
Waste not, unhappy queen, thy pity here,
Nor bid my righteous rage its prey forego,
Who keener pangs thyself, Ganora, soon shall know!

XLV.

"Poor wither'd heart, that hid'st from human eye
The bitter secret of thine inward wound,
Go, doff the cumbrous garb of royalty,
And seek betimes the cloister's sacred bound!
Ah, warn'd in vain! I hear the clarion sound;
Rings to the charger's tread the shadowy glen;
For thee, for thee, the guarded list is crown'd;
For thee, dark treason quits her snaky den;
The battle's roar resounds for thee, and groans of mangled men.

XLVI.

"Heap high the wood, and bid the flames aspire!
Bind her long tresses to th' accurs'd tree!
A queen, a queen, must feed the funeral fire!
Ah, hope not thou, though love shall set thee free,
With that restored love in peace to be. (4)
And shall my country bend her aweful head
To lick the bitter dust of slavery?
Illustrious isle! is all thy glory fled?
How soon thy knightly boast is number'd with the dead!

XLVII.

"Yet art thou safe, and Arthur's throne may stand."
(Down from the lofty saddle, bending low,
The dart she proffer'd to Ganora's hand;)
"Nay, shrink not, maiden from the needful blow,
Nor spare in yonder hind, thy fiercest foe,
Whose secret hate from forth her dark recess,
Besets thy guiltless life with snares of woe.
Take, take the steel! thy wrongs and mine redress!
Mercy were impious here!—be strong, be merciless!"

XLVIII.

Giddy and faint, unknowing where she was.
Or if, indeed, were sooth that ghastly view,
Pale as some wintry lake, whose frozen glass
Steals from the snow clad heaven a paler hue,
Ganora sate: but still, to pity true,
Her milk-white arms around the quarry spread,
Then rais'd to heaven her eyes of mildest blue,
And to her cheek return'd a dawning red,
As, with collected soul, she bow'd herself and said:—

XLIX.

"And I can suffer! let the storm descend;
Let on this helpless head the thunder break;
Yet, exercis'd in grief, yet, God to friend,
I can endure the worst for mercy's sake!
No, wretched suppliant!" to the hind she spake
That lick'd her hand, and with large tearful eye
Dwelt on her gentle face; "thy fears forsake!
Be thou my friend, I doom thee not to die,
And thy mute love shall cheer my joyless royalty."

L.

"Have, then, thy wish!" the spectre damsel cried,
And call'd her dogs, and wheel'd her courser round,
And with the javelin smote his quivering side;
When, swifter than the rocket's fiery bound,
Aloft they sprang, huntress, and horse, and hound,
And, dimly mixing with the horizon grey,
Fled like a winged dream, yet traces found
Of gore and talons told their recent way;
And still before the queen that wounded quarry lay.

LI.

How fares the knightly court of Carduel?
How fares the wedding guests and warrior throng,
Where all conspir'd the nuptial mirth to swell,
The dance, the feast, the laugh, the wine, the song?
Oh they are silent all! the nimble tongue
Of him, whose craft, by motley kirtle known,
Had graver wits, with seeming folly stung;
The vaunting soldier and the simp'ring crone,
And breath'd in beauty's ear the sighs of softest tone.

LII.

As one who, stretch'd upon a battle field,
Looks to the foeman's hand who laid him low,
And, with faint effort, rears his broken shield,
And dreads, where needeth none, a second blow.
Or, likest him who, where the surges flow
Bares the bleak surface of some wave-beat steep,
A shipwreck'd man, expects in breathless woe,
Till the returning wave, with giant sweep,
Unlock his desperate hold, and whelm him in the deep.

LIII.

So blended fears, the future and the past,
The past yet seen by terror's glazed eye,
That, fearless still and wild, those phantoms traced,
Peopling the twilight's dismal vacancy
With fancied shapes, and shades of fiendish dye;
The future wildest, darkest, unexpress'd,
Danger untried, unfancied agony,
In the mute language of dismay confess'd,
Thrill'd in the bristling hair, throbb'd in th' expanded breast.

LIV.

Sternly the monarch rose, and o'er his brow
A horrent pang of dark anxiety
Shot like the stormy shadow, scudding low
Along the surface of the purple sea.
A smile succeeded. Not to mine or me,
Be that portentous smile of hate and scorn,
Which each strong furrow, stronger made to be,
By toil, and care, and ruthless passion worn,
And recollected guilt of youth's tempestuous morn!

LV.

"Sister!" he spake, (half utter'd, half repress'd,
From his shut teeth the sullen accents stole;)
"And deem'st thou, sister, that thine arts unblest
Can tame the settled bent of Arthur's soul?
No; let the stars their fiery circles roll;
Let dreams of woe disturb the prophet's breast;
Can these, or those, the warrior's will controul?
'Tis chance, 'tis error all!—Oh, trusted best!
Be thou mine omen, sword! I reck not of the rest!"

LVI.

The wedded pair to their chamber gone,
While minstrel sounds of breath, and beat, and string,
Pour on the dewy breeze their blended tone;
And wreathed maidens, link'd in jocund ring,
"Hymen" around them, "Io Hymen" sing.
So, trampling roses in their path, they sped
The veiled bride and the triumphant king,
A festal glare while hundred torches shed,
Tinging the cheek of night with all unwonted red.

CANTO II.

I.

Blest is the midnight of the cradled boy,
Along whose dimply cheek, in slumbers mild,
The warm smile basks of visionary joy!
And blest is she, who by her sleeping child
Has the long hours in watchful love beguil'd;
And blest the weary man whose wistful eyes
From his tall frigate scan the ocean wide,
When the fair beacon paints the ruddy skies,
And on his tearful heart the thoughts of home arise.

II.

And dear to faithful love that lovely hour,
And dear to him beyond the beam of day,
Who tracks the footsteps of eternal power,
Where the broad heavens their starry map display.
Guilt, only guilt, detests the silent ray
Of that soul-searching moon, whose lustre sad
Restores neglected conscience to her sway,
And bitter memory of all things bad,
In crowds forgotten erst, or drown'd in revel mad.

III.

The harp was silent, and the tapers' light
Had faded from the walls of Carduel,
Which late, through many a window's lattic'd height,
On the dark wave in fitful lustre fell:
And far and faintly pealed the drowsy bell
That wakes the convent to unwilling prayer;
When she, that seeming hind of snowy fell,
Erect upstarted from her secret lair,
Erect, in awful grace, a woman goodly fair.

IV.

Dark o'er her neck the glossy curls descending
Half hid and half reveal'd her ivory breast;
And dark those eyes, where pride with sorrow blending,
Of hate and ruth a mingled tale confest.
Her wreath was nightshade, and her sable vest
All spangled o'er with magic imagery,
In tighter fold her stately form exprest,
As when the empress of the silent sky
Explores her sleeping love on Latmos' summit high.

V.

Or likest her whose melancholy feet
In Stygian valleys wander lonelily,
Singing sad airs, and culling flowers sweet,
(Yet sweeter flowers in Enna wont to be)
Daughter of Ceres, sad Persephone!
Oh, not of hell the adamantine throne
Nor golden bow from Acherusian tree,
Can for the balmy breeze of heaven atone,
Or match the common light of earth's supernal zone!

VI.

So sad, so beautiful, so sternly bright,
Skimming the silent air with magic tread,
And fairer seen beneath the fair moonlight,
That elfin lady stood by Arthur's bed.
A tear, in spite of strong disdain, she shed:
One little tear, as o'er the sleeping twain
Her dark eye glanc'd; then, with averted head,
"Ye whom I serve forgive this transient pain;
I little thought," she sighed, that Morgue would weep again

VII.

Again she gaz'd, again a softer dew
Dimm'd of her lucid eye the fiery ray,
As sad remembrance waken'd at the view
Of those who wrapt in dewy slumber lay.
Nor could the Chian's mimic art display
A goodlier pair; yet did Ganora's cheek
A hectic flush unlike to joy display;
And from her half clos'd lips, in accent weak,
Would ever and anon a mournful murmur break.

VIII.

"Oh brother once most dear," the fairy said,
"A little while sleep on, a little while
On that warm breast pillow thy careless head,
And bless thy waking eyes with beauty's smile.
But danger hovers near, and thorny guile
And jealous love that borders close on hate,
And angry doubt in impotent turmoil,
Whose murderous purpose not for proof shall wait,
With following sorrow join'd and penitence too late!

IX.

"And thou, poor victim of another's crime,
Hell knows I hate not thee,—thy simple breast
Sought not to so sad eminence to climb!
Yet can I bear to see Ganora blest.
Who blesses him my foe? Oh dire unrest!
Oh Morgue condemn'd with frustrate hope to groan!
I sought to lure her from her cottage nest;
I sought to plant her on an empire's throne;
I sought and I obtain'd; would it were all undone!

X.

"For this, alas, I watch'd those opening charms,
In the cool covert of her native grove;
And with a mother's hope, for Modred's arms
Foredoom'd Ganora's crown compelling love!
Now shall that spell-bound life a bulwark prove
To Arthur's reign! Ah me, whose feeble power
In fate's perplexing maze with Merlin strove,
And with my rival of the watery bower,
Of that too potent Mage the elfin paramour!

XI.

"What yet remains?—to blast with mutter'd spell
The budding promise of their nuptial bed;
Of jealous doubt to wake the inward hell,
And evil hopes of wandering fancy bred!"
She spake and from her dewy chaplet shed
Pernicious moisture o'er each dewy limb,
And such strange words of imprecation said,
That Heav'n's own everburning lamp grew dim,
And shudd'ring ceas'd awhile the saints' triumphal hymn.

XII.

But all in vain o'er young Ganora's breast,
Guarded by prayer, the demon whisper stole;
Sorrow, not sin disturb'd that tranquil rest;
Yet 'gan her teeth to grind and eyes to roll,
As troublous visions shook her sleeping soul;
And scalding drops of agony bedew'd
Her feverish brow more hot than burning coal.
Whom with malignant smile the fairy viewed
And through the unopen'd door her nightly track pursued.

XIII.

Like as that evil dame whose sullen spell,
To love dire omen, and to love's delight,
(If all be sooth that ancient rabbins tell,)
With death and danger haunts the nuptial night,
Since Adam first her airy charms could slight;
Her Judah's daughters scare with thrilling cry,
Lilith! fell Lilith! from her viewless flight,
What time with flowers their jetty locks they tye,
And swell the midnight dance with amorous harmony. (5)

XIV.

With slope flight winnowing the winds of Heaven,
So sped king Uther's child, till her dark eye
Glanc'd on a stately knight, whose steps uneven
And folded arms might inward grief imply,
Or love's wild sting, or cankered jealousy.
Above whose lucid mail and shoulders strong,
The furred mantle flowed of royalty,
And, coil'd around his crest, a dragon long
Upwreath'd its golden spires the wavy plumes among.

XV.

Alone he pac'd, from all the band afar
  Who kept with equal watch their sovereign's bower.
Alone, with gloomy mien and visage bare,
  Courting the cool breeze of that early hour.
  Of sterner eye than Arthur's, and the flower
Of youth as yet on his dark features glowed;
  Yet seem'd like Arthur's brows his brows to lower;
The same of giant height his stature show'd,
His raven locks the same, but not with silver strow'd.

XVI.

"Modred!" in accent low and bending near,
  "Modred, my son!" the beauteous fairy said,
"Ah, wherefore, at my voice that glance severe,
  And that dear cheek suffus'd with angry red?
  Yes, I deserve thy frown, thy mother's head,
Child of my pangs, thy keenest curse shall bear,
  Who with warm hope thy young ambition fed,
And weav'd the secret spell with nightly care,
Vain hopes, and empty spells to win thy promised fair!"

XVII.

"And com'st thou yet, mother unfortunate!
  To mock with dreams of transport and of power
My gloomy path, whom, with a common hate,
  Since first thy shame disgraced my natal hour,
  Of Heaven the curses, and of hell devour!
What spell-bound virgin may thy charms pursue?
  What hovering diadems in golden shower,
Shall mock mine oft-defeated hopes anew?"
He ceas'd, and o'er his eyes his hollow beaver drew.

XVIII.

To whom, deep sighing, Uther's daughter spake,
  "Ah, never more may mother hope to find,
Who weeps and watches for her infant's sake,
  The boy obedient, or the warrior kind!
  Our toil, our hope is their's, our heart, our mind;
For them we meditate, for them we pray;
  The soul for them in sinful chain we bind;
And for their weal we cast our own away;
Yet when did filial love a parent's grief repay?

XIX.

"O thou, for whom of mortal things alone,
Unthankful as thou art, yet ever dear,
My soul bends downwards from its cloudy zone,
And on mine elfin cheek a mortal tear
Warm lingering, tells me of the times that were!
Accursed for whose sake, my restless wing
And more than mother's pangs condemn'd to bear,
(Till time and fate mine hour of torment bring,)
Circles the arch of Heaven in melancholy ring!

XX.

"My Son! by all I feel, by all I dread,
If either parent's fate thy sorrow move,
(A father slain, a mother worse than dead,)
Grudge not the little payment of thy love!
Nor scorn my power! though spell unfaithful prove,
Though Merlin's mightier skill my hope have crost,
Yet not the fiends below, nor saints above,
Nor elfin tribes in airy tempest tost,
Can tame my steadfast will. All, Modred, is not lost!"

XXI.

"Then tell me," cried the youth, "who was my sire,
And wherefore thou, estranged from mortal clay,
Bearest so dark a doom of penal fire,
A wretched wanderer on the Heaven's high way,
Once Albion's princess, now an elfin grey?
Too long thou tirest with boding saws my breast,
Mocking thy son with phantoms of dismay,
Whose ardent soul by feverish doubt opprest,
Burns o'er the unfinish'd tale, and longs to hear the rest."

XXII.

The fairy grasp'd his mailed hand, and led
Where the deep waters rolling silently,
Beneath the western gate their mirror spread,
And on the giant walls and arches high,
A lonely horror sate continually.
No warder there with beacon flaming bright,
Needed with weary pace his watch to ply,
But cold and calm the sinking stars of night,
Played on the rippling wave with ineffectual light.

XXIII.

There, where adown the solitary steep,
With fox-glove twin'd, and mosses silver grey,
A trickling runnel seem'd the fate to weep
Of one whose rustic tomb beside it lay,
That lovely sorceress bent her mournful way;
And gathering strength—"Behold the honours here
Bestowed by Arthur on thy parent's clay!
Behold! forgive my boy this coward tear;
Blood, blood alone should soothe the ghost who wanders near!

XXIV.

"He, when of downy youth the vernal light
Play'd on thy mother's cheek, now wan with care,
And many a peer of fame, and many a knight,
To Britain's princess pour'd the tender prayer,
He, only he, the valiant and the fair,
To this weak heart an easy entrance found;
An humble squire; but not an empire's heir
Could vie with Paladore on listed ground;
With every manly grace, and every virtue crowned.

XXV.

"Oh days of bliss, oh hope chastized by fear,
When on my lap reclined the careless boy,
Chid my faint sighs, and kiss'd my falling tear!
He knew not, he, what bitter doubts annoy
Of unpermitted love the trembling joy;
He knew not till my brother's thirsty blade
Flash'd o'er his head, impetuous to destroy.
I clasp'd the tyrant's knees, I wept, I pray'd;
Oh God, on Arthur's soul be all my griefs repay'd!

XXVI.

"When from a trance of senseless agony
I woke to keener pangs, by frenzy stung,
Reckless of Arthur's late repentant cry,
Fire in my brain and curses on my tongue,
From yonder cliff my wretched frame I flung;
Alas, th' enchanted wind my weight upbore,
While in mine ears an elvish chorus rung,
—'Come kindred spirit to our cloudy shore!
With fays, thyself a fay, come wander evermore!"

XXVII.

"Since, on the rolling clouds or ocean blue,
Or mid the secrets of our nether sphere,
The goblin leader of a goblin crew,
I wander wide; but ill may mortal ear
Of fairy land the mystic revels hear!
Short be my tale! one earthly thing alone,
One helpless infant to my heart was dear,
Bright in whose eyes his either parent shone;
Rear'd by their pitying foe, my son, by blessed son!"

XXVIII.

She ceas'd, and round his linked hauberk threw
Her mother arms, and on his iron breast
(The rough mail moistening with tender dew)
A kiss, the seal of bitter love, imprest.
He, stern and dark, no kindly glow confest,
With face averted and with frozen eye,
Where softer passion never dared to rest,
But cunning seem'd with sullen pride to vie,
Calm, calculating hate, and damned cruelty.

XXIX.

"How have I train'd thee, with what potent charms
My magic care thy tender frame imbued,
How nurs'd thy youth for empire and for arms,
And how in Derwent's mountain solitude
I reared thy destined bride," the fay pursued,
"And what strange chance o'erthrew mine airy skill,
Alas, thou know'st it all! yet to delude
The force we cannot stem is triumph still,
And from reluctant fate t' extort our good or ill.

XXX.

"Oh earth! how many wonders wonderful,
In thy large lap and parent bosom lie,
Which whoso knows (few know them all) to cull,
May drag the struggling planets from on high,
And turn the land to sea, the sea to dry;
Yea, not man's will, by God created free,
Can match their strange mysterious potency,
Nor love nor hate so firmly fixed be,
But love must yield and hate to magic's dark decree.

XXXI.

"A ring there is of perfect diamond stone,
Such as no mining slave is trained to seek,
Nor Soldan numbers on his orient throne,
Nor diving Ethiop from his sultry creek
Has borne so rich a prize; for who shall speak
What unseen virtue in it orbits dwell?
Press it, the fiends attend in homage meek;
Turn it, the bearer walks invisible;
Ah who the hidden force of smallest things may tell?

XXXII.

"That same to one of regal race I lent,
Who now perforce must render back the prize,
For of his stars the danger imminent,
And guiltless blood loud crying to the skies
Alarm all hell; do thou as I desire;
This self-same morn depart for Scottish land,
There Urgan seek, king Pellea's uncle wise,
And bid him yield to thy deputed hand
That ring of diamond stone, for such is Morgue's command

XXXIII.

"Have we not heard how shepherd Gyges bare,
By like deceit from old Candaule's bed,
In naked beauty seen, the Lydian fair,
And kingly circle from his dotard hand
Thenceforth himself a king?" (6) "No more!" he said—
"Mother, no more! or ere the sun's bright round
Have tinged yon eastern cloud with lively red,
My fiery steed shall paw the spangled ground,
And on the Cattraeth's side my clashing arms resound."

XXXIV.

Like as the hawk from hidden durance free
Springs from the falc'ner's wrist, the eager knight,
His dark cheek warm with savage ecstacy,
Burst from his parent's hold. She with delight
His warrior mien beheld and giant height,
Awhile beheld, then, rapt in mist away,
Back to the bridal turret bent her flight,
There closely couch'd amid the rushes grey,
O power of wicked spells!—a seeming hind she lay.

XXXV.

By this the fiery wheeled charioteer
Had raised above the fringed hills his head.
And o'er the skies in molten amber clear
A flood of life and liquid beauty shed,
When sun-like, rising from his fragrant bed,
All glorious in his bliss, the bridegroom king
Pass'd to the common hall, and with him led,
Blushing and beauteous as that morn of spring,
The fair fore-doomed cause of Albion's sorrowing.

XXXVI.

The mass was ended, and the silver tone
Of shawm and trumpet bade the courtier crew
In martial pastime round their monarch's throne,
That livelong day their mimic strife pursue,
As each the thirst of various pleasure drew ;
Some launched the glossy bowl in alleys green,
Some the stiff bar with sturdy sinews threw,
Some in bright arms and wavy plumage seen,
Wielded the quivering lance the guarded lists between.

XXXVII.

So was there mirth in stately Carduel,
Till in the midst a stranger dame was seen,
Whose snowy veil in graceful wimple fell
Above the sable garb of velvet sheen ;
Als in her hand, of metal deadly keen,
A sheathed sword and studded belt she bare.
Golden the hilt, the sheath of silver clean,
Whose polish'd mirror back reflected fair
Her cheeks of vermeil tinge, her auburn length of hair.

XXXVIII.

Stately she rode along, and keen her eye
That scann'd with eager glance that warrior crew ;
Yet was her blush so meek and maidenly,
That never village lass in apron blue
With purer roses caught the passing view.
Stately she rode along, and in her train,
With floating locks and beards of silver hue,
Two goodly squires, array'd in mourning grain,
On either side controul'd her palfrey's silken rein.

XXXIX.

Like as that lovely month to lovers dear,
  Unlocks the green bud on the scented spray,
And laps in freshest flowers the tender year,
  And tunes the songs of nature,—blessed May;
  Such was the joy this damsel to survey.
But that deceitful hind who by the bride,
  Licking her hand, in treacherous fondness lay,
Arose, and skulking to the farther side
In guilty darkness sought her harmful head to hide.

XL.

Alighting from her steed, some little space
  Propt on that antique sword the maiden leant;
While silence gave her blushing cheek more grace,
  And her warm tears touchingly eloquent,
Through warrior hearts a pleasing anguish sent.
Then, with collected voice she told her grief,
  Of bitter wrong, and treason imminent
Done to her kindred by a Scottish chief,
'Gainst whom, at Arthur's court, she, suppliant, sought relief,

XLI.

Her lands he wasted, and with tortuous wrong
  Herself had banish'd from her native right;
A felon warrior, neither bold nor strong,
  But safe and reckless of all human might
By charms impregnable and magic slight.
"For, as some evil thought, he walks unseen
  Scattering around in murderous despite,
From viewless bow his arrows deadly keen,
That strength and courage fail t' oppose so fatal teen."

XLII.

"Alas," said Arthur, "and can mortal wight
  With trenchant steel a viewless life invade,
Or probe with dagger point his pall of night?"
  "Who," she replied, "can draw this charmed blade,
  Worn by my sire, on him my doom is laid.
But now seven years through many a distant land,
  Patient of ill, my weary course has stray'd,
Nor knight is found so brave whose stainless hand
Can from its burnished sheath unlock my fatal brand."

XLIII.

She ceas'd, and through the crowded fort there spread
A deep hoarse murmur, as th' autumnal sound
In hazel bower, when Sherwood's rustling head
Shakes in the blast, and o'er the dusty ground,
And in mid sky the falling leaves abound.
Beneath her bramble screen the crouching hare
Erects her ears, and quaking as astound,
Shrinks from the breath of that inclement air,
And the fast driving sleet that strips the branches bare.

XLIV.

Then sudden from a hundred tongues arose
Harsh words and high, and hand to hilt was laid
And taunt and threat portended deadly blows,
Each claiming for himself that charmed blade,
And envied guidance of the noble maid.
But Arthur, rising from his gilded throne,
"Back on your lives, presumptuous subjects!" said
"For this adventure I resign to none,
Not Lancelot himself, of knights the paragon!"

XLV.

Awed, yet reluctant, back the crowd withdrew
While Arthur from the maid her sword required,
And poising in his hands with curious view,
Its antique frame and massy weight admired.
Then, bending low, with gripple might desired
Forth from its silver sheath the blade to strain,
Which, following for a space, again retired,
Mocking with magic sleight his fruitless pain;
Seven times the king essay'd, seven times essay'd in vain.

XLVI.

As some stout churl by sinewy toil embrown'd,
Foiled by a stranger in the wrestler's play
Arises, mourning, from the plashy ground
His batter'd limbs and face deformed with clay,
And cursing oft that luckless holiday;
So Arthur back the charmed steel restor'd,
And turn'd with sullen scowl his eyes away,
As many a knight of fame, and warlike lord
In long succession strove to drag that fatal sword.

XLVII.

But not Sir Carados thine iron arm,
Nor Kay's stout heart and vaunted pedigree,
Nor Gahriet's youthful grace could break the charm,
Nor Gawain's force, and faith, and courage free;
Though when he strove, the knight of courtesy,
The conscious sword awhile his hand obey'd,
That men a span's length of its edge might see,
As sunbeam radiant, and with gold inlaid,
Yet would not all suffice to bare that stubborn blade.

XLVIII.

Whereat the damsel made exceeding moan,
Shedding salt tears; nor did her sorrow spare
Her breast more lovely white than marble stone,
Nor the long radiance of her sunny hair;
That not the rudest groom such sight could bear:
But a sad murmur through the palace spread
"Alas the while that Lancelot were there!
Then had not Arthur's court been shamed"—they said
"Nor those love-darting eyes so bitter fountains shed."

XLIX.

A knight there was, whose erring hardihood
And fiery soul, that insult ill could bear.
Had bath'd his falchion in Cucullin's blood,
Who yearly made to Britain's court repair;
(Haughty Cucullin, Erin's haughty heir,)
Condemn'd for this (such vengeance Arthur vow'd)
To the chill dungeon's damp and stony lair;
Through the close grated loop he call'd aloud,
And what that tumult meant, besought the passing crowd.

L.

Which, when he heard, so strangely confident,
With such warm hope he crav'd his chance to try,
That through the court a louder murmur went,
As pity kindled into mutiny;
And Arthur, yielding to his people's cry,
"Let him come forth!—his doom in sooth was hard;
A soldier's fault!" he mutter'd carelessly;
And knight so long in listless prison barr'd,
Has well such fault aton'd—Go bring him hitherward!"

LI.

So was Sir Balin brought before the throne,
A gaunt and meagre man, of hue forlorn;
For forty months of lingering care were gone,
Since on his flinty couch the smile of morn
Had rested, or, on dewy pinions borne,
The fragrant summer blest his solitude.
His limbs were with the linked iron worne,
And his long raven hair, in tresses rude,
Hung o'er his hollow cheeks with prison damps imbued.

LII.

Around him wildly gazing, (for his sight
Shrank from th' unwonted beam of perfect day,
And those embattled guards whose armour bright
Flash'd in the sunshine like the torch's ray,)
He to the stranger damsel bent his way.
And, "lady, scorn me not! the time has been
Or ere this bondage," he began to say,
"That gayer robes, and knights of statelier mien,
Have felt mine arm as strong, by lance as deadly keen.

LIII.

"I pray thee give the sword!"—the sword she gave;
"Long, very long it seems," the captive cried,
"Since these poor hands have felt a battle glaive!"
Yet as the pommel's wieldy grasp he tried,
Dawn'd on his hollow cheek a martial pride,
And the dark smile of warrior ecstacy
Across his care worn-visage seem'd to glide;
And, flashing like a meteor to the sky,
Forth sprang the charmed blade, the blade of victory!

LIV.

Say, have ye mark'd what winged moments fall
Between the distant cannon's flash and roar?
Such was the pause ensued, and such the swell
Of following rapture shook the ocean shore,
Rung every vaulted gate and turret hoar;
Rung the far abbey spires, and cloister'd bound;
While, as they sail'd the moss-grown rampart o'er,
The sea bird reel'd on giddy pinions round,
And the wood-fring'd rocks return'd a hollow sound.

LV.

When all was hush'd, the not unmindful king
From Balin bade the guard unloose his chain,
While robes of knightly blue the pages bring,
And furred mantle of majestic train.
He, with a settl'd smile of calm disdain,
Receiv'd the gifts; but when his well known mail,
And shield, and rusted helm were brought again,
Quak'd his dark lip, and voice began to fail,
And the fast-falling tear bedew'd his features pale.

LVI.

So when the feast was ended in the hall,
Nor longer would remain th' impatient maid,
Though Arthur much, and much his nobles all,
But most her presence young Ganora pray'd;
To each with courtly smile her thanks she paid,
And graceful on that docile palfrey sprung;
While close beside, in wonted steel array'd,
Victorious Balin's clashing armour rung,
Whom many a knight beheld, with serpent envy stung.

LVII.

But while o'er many a wood-fringed hill
And heath of purple tint their journey lay,
That seeming hind, fair architect of ill,
In Arthur's palace sojourn'd many a day,
Expert in fraud, and watchful to betray.
Expert with pliant limb, and bounding high
Before the queen, her gambols to display:
Or, fond and flattering, at her feet to lie,
And mirror every thought in her large lucid eye.

LVIII.

So pass'd the day; but when the seven-fold team,
That fear to tinge their feet in ocean deep,
Shot from the topmost north their twinkling beam,
And over mortal lids the dews of sleep
(To weary man blest visitation) creep,
Forth in the silence of the world she sped,
A nymph of air, her unblest watch to keep;
Or, wrapt in mist, beside the bridal bed
Of poor Ganora's heart the wandering wishes read.

LIX.

The early trace of youthful love was there,
  And airy hope that flatter'd to betray;
But disappointment, with salt smarting tear,
  Had blotted half the simple lines away;
  The other half too deeply graven lay.
And, though contending with that earthly flame,
Celestial ardours sent their purer ray,
Though late—Ah, female heart, of feeble frame.
Of pomp, and rank, and power, the novel rapture came!

LX.

Yet in the midst, and sov'reign o'er her breast,
  Cadwal, young Cadwal, held his fatal throne,
And e'en to wakeful conscience unconfest,
  Her fear, her grief, her joy were his alone;
  Yes, every sigh that heav'd her silken zone,
From hapless love a dearer sorrow drew,
  And, to Ganora's secret self unknown,
Arose before the fairy's eager view;
Ah me! what airy spies our silent thoughts pursue!

LXI.

And think'st thou, man, thy secret wish to shroud
  In the close bosom's sealed supulchre?
Or, wrapt in saintly mantle from the crowd,
  To hug thy darling sin that none may see?
  A thousand, thousand eyes are bent on thee;
And where thy bolts the babbling world exclude,
  And in the darkness where thou lov'st to be,
A thousand, thousand busy sprites intrude;
Earth, air, and heaven are full, there is no solitude.

CANTO III.

I.

When I rehearse each gorgeous festival,
And knightly pomp of Arthur's elder day,
And muse upon these Celtic glories all,
Which, save some remnant of the minstrel's lay,
Are melted in oblivious stream away,
(So deadly bit the Saxon blade and sore)
Perforce I rue such perilous decay,
And, reckless of my race, almost deplore
That ever northern keel deflower'd the Logrian shore.

II.

Oh thou the ancient genius of the land,
Who wont on old Belusium's sunny steep,
And nigh the holy mount, with armed hand,
In vision dimly seen, thy watch to keep,
Our angel guard, whose eagle pinions sweep
In circling flight around his rock-built nest,
Now soaring high, now dark'ning half the deep,
The broad wave bursting with his shadowy breast,
Oh did not his lament foreshow the nearer pest?

III.

Say, did not he, when Hengist plough'd the main,
With gathering mist the conqueror's track dismay,
And smite his radiant brows with parent pain,
And sadly rend his samphire wreath away?
No, brighter beamed his prescient eye that day,
And as the proud bark swept the waters free,
He bade the rustling waves around it play,
While softly stole across the sunny sea,
From many a twisted shell the mermaid's harmony.

IV.

Now forty times the golden haired dawn
Had sprung from old Tithonus' dewy bed,
And forty times across the fading lawn,
Had summer eve her filmy mantle spread,
Since young Ganore to Mary's aisle was led
A pensive bride; and yet, I wot not why,
But those who best could read her blushes said,
Not now so much she droop'd the timid eye,
Nor paid her Arthur's warmth with so cold courtesy.

V.

She was his wife! for this she strove to bear
Of that portentous eye the tawny glow;
And those deep indents of ambitious care
That mapp'd his dark and melancholy brow;
She was belov'd; for well the fair might know
How that stern heart was fixed on her alone,
When, melted all in love's delirious flow,
The vanquish'd victor at her feet was thrown;
And she was inly vain to feel such power her own.

VI.

So was she pleas'd herself who sought to please;
'Till on a day when all the court would ride
To drink in Cattraeth's woods the cooler breeze,
And rouse the dun deer from Terwathlin's side,
It chanced the queen within her bower to bide,
As one in boisterous pastime rarely seen;
Who little loved the hunter's cruel pride,
Or maddening shout that rends the forest green,
Or their poor quarry's groan the bugle notes between.

VII.

Loth was her lord to miss that livelong day,
Her soft sweet glances and her converse sweet;
Yet cared he not to cross her purposed stay;
And forth he fared, but still with ling'ring feet
And backward look, and "Oh when lovers meet
How blest," he thought "the evening's tranquil hour,
From care and cumbrous pomp a glad retreat."
Not since his youth first quaffed the cup of power,
Had Arthur praised before the calm sequestered bower.

VIII.

And forth he fared ; while from her turret high
That smiling form beheld his hunter crew ;
Pleased she beheld, whose unacquainted eye
Found in each varying scene a pleasure new.
Nor yet had pomp fatigued her sated view,
Nor custom palled the gloss of royalty.
Like some gay child a simple bliss she drew
From every gaud of feudal pageantry,
And every broider'd garb that swept in order by.

IX.

And, sooth, it was a brave and antic sight,
Where plume, and crest, and tassel wildly blending,
And bended bow, and javelin flashing bright,
Mark'd the gay squadron through the copse descending ;
The greyhound, with his silken leash contending,
Wreath'd the lithe neck ; and, on the falconer's hand
With restless perch and pinions broad depending,
Each hooded goshawk kept her eager stand,
And to the courser's tramp loud rang the hollow land.

X.

And over all, in accents sadly sweet,
The mellow bugle pour'd its plaintive tone,
That echo joy'd such numbers to repeat,
Who, from dark glade or rock of pumice-stone,
Sent to the woodland nymphs a softer moan ;
While listening far from forth some fallow brown,
The swinked ploughman left his work undone ;
And the glad schoolboy from the neighbouring town,
Sprang o'er each prisoning rail, nor reck'd his master's frown.

XI.

Her warm cheek pillow'd on her ivory hand,
Her long hair waving o'er the battlement,
In silent thought Ganora kept her stand,
Though feebly now the distant bugle sent
Its fading sound ; and, on the brown hill's bent,
Nor horse, nor hound, nor hunter's pomp was seen.
Yet still she gaz'd on empty space intent,
As one, who spell-bound on some haunted green,
Beholds a fairy show, the twilight elms between.

XII.

That plaintive bugle's well remember'd tone
Could search her inmost heart with magic sway;
To her it spoke of pleasures past and gone,
And village hopes, and friends far, far away,
While busy memory's scintillating play,
Mock'd her weak heart with visions sadly dear,
The shining lakelet, and the mountain grey,
And who is he, the youth of merriest cheer,
Who waves his eagle plume and grasps his hunting spear?

XIII.

As from a feverish dream of pleasant sin,
She, starting, trembled, and her mantle blue,
With golden border bright, and silver pin,
Round her wet cheek and heaving bosom drew;
Yet still with heavy cheer and downcast view,
From room to room she wander'd to and fro,
Till chance or choice her careless glances threw
Upon an iron door, whose archway low,
And valves half open flung, a gorgeous sight might show.

XIV.

It was a hall of costliest garniture,
With arras hung in many a purple fold;
Whose glistening roof was part of silver pure,
And silken part, and part of twisted gold,
With arms embroider'd and achievements old;
Where that rich metal caught reflected day,
As in the hours of harvest men behold
Amid their sheaves a lurking adder play,
Whose burnish'd back peeps forth amid the stubble grey.

XV.

And, in the midst, an altar richly dight
With ever-burning lamps of silver pale,
And silver cross, and chalice heavenly bright,
Before whose beam a sinful heart might quail,
And sinful eye to bear its beauty fail.
It was, to ween, that gracious implement
Of heavenly love, the three-times hallowed Grayle, (7)
To Britain's realm awhile in mercy lent,
Till sin defil'd the land, and lust incontinent.

XVI.

Strange things of that time-honour'd urn were told,
For youth it wont in aged limbs renew,
And kindle life in corpses deadly cold;
Yea palsy warmth, and fever coolness drew,
While faith knelt gazing on its heavenly hue.
For not with day's reflected beam it shone,
Nor fiery radiance of the taper's blue;
But from its hollow rim around was thrown
A soft and sunny light, eternal and its own.

XVII.

And many a riven helm around was hung,
And many a shield revers'd and shivered spear,
And armour to the passing footsteps rung,
And crowns that paynim kings were wont to wear;
Rich crowns, strange arms, but shatter'd all and sere;
Lo! this the chapel of that table round,
And shrine of Arthur and his warriors dear;
Where vent'rous knights by secret oaths were bound,
And blest by potent prayers their foemen to confound.

XVIII.

Nor less the scene such solemn use became,
Whose every wall in freshest colours dight,
Display'd in form, in feature, and in name,
The lively deeds of many a faithful knight;
And told of many a hardy foughten fight
Against the Heathen host in gory field;
Of those who reap renown with falchion bright,
Or list in war the ponderous axe to wield,
Or press the courser's flank with spear and shield.

XIX.

The stripling conqueror of a giant foe,
Belov'd of Heaven, was David there to see,
And wallowing wide the headless bulk below;
And there the self devoted Maccabee,
Content in death to leave his Israel free,
Sustain'd unmov'd the towered elephant,
With javelin planted firm, and bended knee,
And grimly smiling on the monster's vaunt,
Slaying, was nobly slain, a martyr militant

XX.

There too, she mark'd in blood-red colours writ,
The Christian conqueror of British line,
Who seem'd aloft in golden car to sit,
Rais'd on the ruins of an idol shrine,
Lord of the earth, resistless Constantine!
And, blazing high above his chosen head,
The meteor cross shed forth its light divine;
That that great dragon shook with guilty dread,
And all his countless host from forth the heaven fled.

XXI.

Nor less her own paternal Carmelide,
With arms begirt, and warrior faces round;
Nor less the queen with greedy wonder eyed
The giant form, whose uncouth mantle, bound
With beards of captive monarchs, swept the ground. (8)
Vain-glorious Ryence! him the Christian host
With plunging spears in Mersey's current drown'd;
Who, wading through the river depths, almost
Had stemm'd th' indignant wave, and reach'd the farther coast.

XXII.

But oh, what rage of war! what ghastly blows!
Where silver Avon ran with sanguine hue;
And fierce in fight the youth of Denmark rose,
And Arthur's strength his deadly falchion drew.
Her own brave lord Ganora there might view,
As mid the meaner trees a kingly oak;
How fast the fire-sparks from his armour flew;
How from his courser's panting side the smoke;
How high he bare his targe, how rose at every stroke!

XXIII.

Around the king, behind him and before,
Red ran the tide of death, and dark the throng;
And Merlin there his dragon standard bore,
Scattering dismay the mailed ranks among;
A living standard, whose biforked tongue
Hiss'd with strange magic, and its brazen eye
Darted pernicious rays of poison strong;
Als were its threatful spires uplifted high,
And wings of molten brass outspread in air to fly.

XXIV.

Strange was it to behold the enchanter's mien,
Whose robe of various colours wildly roll'd,
And naked limbs, in battle seldom seen,
And magic girdle all of graven gold,
In uncouth wise his prophet phrenzy told.
Swart was his visage, and his raven hair
Hung loose and long in many a tangled fold;
And his large eyeballs, with unearthly stare,
Flash'd on the withering host a wild portentous glare.

XXV.

Fast by that fiend-born sire was Gawain placed,
Gawain the gentlest of the knightly throng,
With ladies' love, and minstrel honour grac'd,
The good, the brave, the beautiful, the strong;
And, breathing fury, Modred spurr'd along,
Sir Modred, sternest of the table round,
Injurious chief who reck'd nor right nor wrong;
Yet forward in his suzerain's service found,
And next to Arthur's self for princely lineage crowned.

XXVI.

But who is he? the chief whose single might
Girt by the Saxon host in desperate ring,
With slender lance redeems the reeling fight,
While death and conquest, poised on dubious wing,
Hung o'er the strife, his valour witnessing?
Cleft is his helmet, and his sanguine cheer
And beardless cheeks betoken manhood's spring
Ah well known glance, ah form to memory dear,
It is the nameless youth! it is the forestere!

XXVII.

Was it a dream? her unassured eye
Paused on the form awhile—awhile withdrew;
She chafes her lids their perfect sense to try;
It was no dream! alas, too well she knew
The locks of auburn and the eyes of blue,
And, her own work, the scarf and broider'd vest!
And her ears tingled, and a death-like dew
Through her cold marrow thrill'd, and quivering breast,
And suffocating sobs the abortive shriek suppress'd.

XXVIII.

When overpast was that strong agony,
And doubt and fear resumed their blended reign,
She on that arras bent her frenzied eye,
And line retraced, and well known line again.
"His locks were auburn, these a darker grain,
Fair is yon knight, yet sure than him less fair,
Yon shield, yon crownet mark a princely strain,
And sterner seems that brow." Ah fruitless care!
That lip! those eyes! that scarf! his pictur'd self is there

XXIX.

"And art thou he?" for o'er his conquering head
In Gothic letters all of silver bright,
That chieftain's woven name Ganora read;
"And art thou he, thy sovereign's darling knight,
The wise in court, the matchless in the fight,
Strength of our Logrian land in danger's hour!
Oh Lancelot! (if thus I read aright
Thy lordly style,) mid pomp, and wealth, and power
Full soon hast thou forgot thy humble village flower!"

XXX.

"Yet Arthur cull'd that flower!" (a female ire
Flush'd in her cheek, and sparkled in her eye)
"Yet Albion's lord could this poor form desire;
And thou shalt view thy rustic Emily
In pomp of queenly state enthroned high!
Then Cadwal, shall thy soul new pangs endure,
And in each slighted charm new grace descry,
And, scorn'd in turn—Ah passion hard to cure!
Break, break my tempted heart while yet my will is pure."

XXXI.

Thus raved she long, till from her throbbing breast,
Exhausted passion loos'd his iron sway;
And holier thoughts her struggling soul possess'd,
And that pure chalice with its saintly ray,
And that still chapel turned her heart to pray.
So prostrate at the marble altar's base,
With floating locks and folded hands she lay;
And moistening with her tears the sacred place,
Clung to the silver cross with Magdalen embrace.

XXXII.

So by that heavenly toil re-comforted,
She, slowly rising from the sacred ground,
Dried her moist eye, with streaming anguish red,
And those loose locks in decent fillet bound,
And cast, in matron guise, her mantle round,
And forth she went; yet ere the morrow's light,
She of her maidens fit occasion found
To ask the lineage of "that absent knight,
Who now in Albion's war fought for his suzerain's right.

XXXIII.

"He of the Lake, whose empty seat was placed
And in the hall his banner waving wide,
A golden hound with checker'd collar graced,
And the broad field with seeming verdure dyed?"
To whom the young Ygwerna swift replied
With arched brows and finger pointing sly,
"Oh who shall dare to praise that chief of pride,
Who, when the jealous Gwendolen is nigh,
Whose proffer'd love he meets with so cold courtesy?"

XXXIV.

"Peevish Ygwerna!" Gwendolen rejoin'd,
"By forged tales to shrowd thy secret care!
Who more than thou the myrtle branch has twined,
And ring'd with flowery wreath his auburn hair?
Ah wooing vainly spent! some absent fair
Has o'er thy warrior hung her silken chain;
Witness the purple scarf he loves to wear,
Witness his wanderings o'er the nightly plain,
Witness Ygwerna's love and Lancelot's disdain!"

XXXV.

Ganora sigh'd; but all unmark'd the sigh
As Gwendolen pursued her eager word;
"Oh lady mine, long were the history
To reckon up the praise of that young lord,
In Logris and in distant Gaul ador'd,
And sprung from elder kings of Brutus' race;
But changeful fate, and war with ruthless sword
Could ancient Tribles' goodly towers deface,
And poppies wave the head in the tall banner's place.

XXXVI.

"When Bloody Claudas sack'd the Armoric shore,
The sire of Lancelot its sceptre held,
For wealth renown'd, for virtuous wisdom more,
And the fair peace of honourable eld.
But the base rabble from his rule repell'd,
And ancient Ban, no longer prompt to bear
(As when at Carohaise, the foe he quell'd)
The conquering falchion and the pennon'd spear,
Fled from his dangerous throne to wood and desert drear.

XXXVII.

"There, wretched sire, by daily wrath pursued,
Himself, his infant heir, and beauteous dame,
A shelter seeking in the solitude,
To a wild cave with painful travel came.
Where toil and grief oppress'd his hoary frame;
A little space with arms to heaven spread,
A little space, on cities wrapt in flame;
And ravaged fields, he gazed, but nothing said,
Then in his Helen's arms sank down his dying head.

XXXVIII.

"She, chafing his cold brows, and with her tears
Moistening in vain the breast was ever true,
Nor space, nor leisure found for other fears;
But when her much loved lord deceased she knew,
All wildly frantic through the desert flew,
Reckless of him who, mid the bushes laid,
Her sleeping babe, a fairy's pity drew;
Who haply wandering through the twilight glade
Stoop'd from her phantom steed, and home the prize conveyed.

XXXIX.

"Beneath the hollow waters is her home,
Upbuilt with arched waves of crystal cold,
Where never wight of mortal seed should come.
Yet did she there the beauteous infant hold,
And train'd in knightly lore and pastimes bold;
But luckless Helen, dame disconsolate,
When late her loss returning reason told,
Sought the sad shelter of a convent grate,
And wept with live long grief her boy's untimely fate.

XL.

"Him, when his vigorous youth was ripe for war
And downy cheek was cloth'd in darker shade,
On airy wheels and dragon-yoked car,
To Arthur's court his elfin nurse convey'd.
In polish'd arms of maiden white array'd,
And silver shield, as princely youth became;
Who since untam'd, unrivall'd, undismay'd
In tourney strife and war's illustrious game,
Has borne from every knight the foremost meed of fame."

XLI.

"All otherwise I deem," Ganora cried,
"Nor him account the best and bravest knight
Who, rapt in sordid gain or warrior pride,
Is dead to ladies' pain and love's delight."
"Ah who," said Gwendolen, "shall read aright
The close kept secret of a hero's love!
Yet some have said, in magic beauty bright,
His elfin dame has power his mind to move,
And urge his pensive steps along the twilight grove."

XLII.

A livid blush the queen's pale face o'erspread,
"Yet, yet aread, where is that fairy's won?"
"Ah who shall tell her haunt," the maiden said,
"Who in the desert water dwells alone,
Or under hollow hill or cavern'd stone?
Yet beauteous Derwent claims her chiefest grace."
Ganora heard, but answer made she none,
And with her kerchief shrouding close her face,
Broke from the unfinish'd tale and sadly left the place.

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NOTES TO THE MORTE D'ARTHUR.

(1) King Arthur, according to his historian, Sir Thomas Malory, reigned in Britain about the beginning of the sixth century; he conquered Ireland, France, Denmark, and Norway, and was victorious in several expeditions against the Saracens, many of whom he forcibly converted to Christianity. He instituted the order of the round table made by Merlin "in token of the roundness of the world." Hist. of Prince Arthur, Part II. chap. 50.

Traditionary traces of king Arthur, of the loves of his queen Guenever (or Ganora) and Sir Lancelot, with the adventures of the knights of the round table, are still to be found in Wales, and in parts of Shropshire.

(2) Sir Carados was the only knight of the round table who possessed a wife of fidelity sufficient to enable her to wear the enchanted mantle, and to wind the horn brought by a fairy to King Arthur's court.

(3) Sir Tristan, being wounded in battle with Sir Marhans of Ireland, who had unjustly demanded *truage* from his uncle, Sir Mark of Cornwall, was carried to Ireland, and there nursed by La beale Isonde (or Yseult) daughter to the king of that island. Some time after, Sir Mark, who was jealous of his nephew, sent him, on what was considered a dangerous embassage, to demand Isonde in marriage of her father. Sir Tristan successfully accomplished his mission, and set off with his uncle's destined bride to return to Cornwall. On their voyage they unfortunately drank of a love potion prepared by Isonde's mother to be given to Sir Mark on their wedding day. The consequence was "that by that their drink they loved each other so well that their love never departed from them for weal or woe." Hist. of Prince Arthur, Part I. chap. 24.

(4) Queen Guenever (or Ganora) was twice brought to the stake for treason, towards the latter end of Arthur's reign, and twice delivered by Sir Lancelot du Lac, who, on the second occasion, carried her off to his castle of Joyous Gard. Thither Arthur pursued her, and though Lancelot tried to persuade him to "take his queen into his good grace, for that she was both fair and just and true," he would not receive her again till, after the shedding of much knightly blood, the Pope issued a bull, "commanding him, upon pain of interdicting of all England, that he take his queen, dame Guenever, to him again, and accord with Sir Lancelot." Hist. of Prince Arthur, Part II. chap. 154.

On Arthur's death, Guenever retired into a nunnery at Almsbury, and Lancelot into a hermitage near Glastonbury.

(5) The Jews have a tradition that, before the creation of Eve, Adam was married to an aerial being named Lilith; to revenge his deserting her for an earthly rival, she is supposed to hover round the habitations of new married persons, showering down imprecations on their heads. The attendants on the bride spend the night in going round the house and uttering loud screams to frighten her away.

(6) It is related of Gyges that he descended into the earth, where he discovered a large horse made of brass; and within it the body of a man of gigantic stature, on whose finger was a brass ring This ring possessed the power of making its wearer invisible, and with its assistance he gained access into the palace, murdered the king, whose throne he afterwards usurped, and married the queen.

(7) The Grayle, or Sangreal, according to the original romance, was a vessel of gold, said to contain some of the blood of our Saviour, carried about by a fair maiden; besides its healing virtues, it possessed the property, into whatever castle it was brought, of "fulfilling the

hall with great odours, and every knight had such meat and drink as he best loved in the world." It was invisible, as well as the damsel who bore it, to all but the "perfect man." The knights of the round table made a quest to find it out; but Sir Galahad, son of Sir Launcelot, was the only one of sufficient purity of life to be allowed to see it; after which "he kneeled down and made his prayers, and then suddenly his soul departed unto Jesus Christ, and a great multitude of angels bare his body up to Heaven, that his two fellows might behold it; also his two fellows saw come down from Heaven a hand, but they saw not the body, and then it came right to the vessel and took it, and so bare it to Heaven. Sithince was there never no man so hardy for to say that he had seen the Sangreal." Hist. of Prince Arthur, Part II. chap. 103.

(8) Ryence was sovereign of North Wales; he overcame eleven valiant kings in battle, and caused their beards to be sewn on the edge of his mantle, in token of their doing him homage; he then sent a messenger for king Arthur's beard. "For king Ryence had perfected a mantle with kings' beards, and there lacked for one place of the mantle, wherefore he sent for his beard, or else he would enter into his lands, and burn and slay, and never leave till he have thy head and beard." But Arthur was little accustomed to be taken by the beard, and returned an angry answer; on which Ryence prepared to enter Britain with a large army, when he was himself defeated by the brothers Balin and Balan. Hist. of Prince Arthur.—Ed.

A SENSE OF HONOUR,

A PRIZE ESSAY,

RECITED AT OXFORD, 1801

"Sans peur, et sans reproche."
Vie du Chev. Bayard

In deciding on the merit of any principle of action, two material questions will arise. The one, whether the motives themselves are consonant to reason and religion; the other, whether the effects are generally conducive to the happiness of mankind. For though good may accidentally proceed from evil, the evil is not, therefore, justified; and when on the other hand, good does not follow, we must presume, with equal reason, that the principle itself is vicious or mistaken.

In conformity to these rules, it will be proper to examine, first, the nature and propriety of a sense of honour, and then submit its merits to the final test of tried and general utility.

To arrive at a knowledge of the first, little more, perhaps, is necessary, than calmly and dispassionately to look round on the practice of the world, and appeal to our own reason and experience for the causes of what we see and feel. If we separate our ideas of honour from their political trappings and accidental varieties; if we reduce its laws to their simple and original principles, we shall find that they have all a common and manifest dependance on that sort of educated self-love which, when excessive, we stigmatize by the name of pride,* as we do its opposite extreme by the reproach of meanness.†

I call it educated, because it is not, like the appetites, immediately derived from the bodily wants or propensities, (the only senses which are, properly speaking, natural,) but from an acquired and artificial combination of these, which it seems the earliest business of education to produce, to stimulate, and apply. It would, in fact, be easy to show that this principle, like every other, is generated by the external operation of pleasure or pain; and that pride,‡ honour, and ambition, with all their kindred habits, are little more than a very simple modification of hope.

Be that, however, as it may, it is unquestionable that, by whatever means we acquire it, the *habit of self-respect* is productive of very re-

* Καυχησις. † Μικροψυχια

‡ Search, Light of Nature, Vol. II. p. 131

markable and advantageous effects on the human mind. So much may, at least, be inferred from the general sentiments and experience of the world. Even those who abound the most in unmeaning invective against what they call pride and the selfish principle,* are themselves obliged to submit to the uncontrolable laws of human nature and human feelings. If not in theory, at least in practice, by endearments, by distinctions, and by rewards, they, too, find it necessary to train up youth to the desire of praise, and teach them to feel the luxury of self-approbation.

For praise and external distinctions are only so far agreeable as they confirm us in our own esteem.† All, indeed, that they really inform us of, is, that we are justified in entertaining high thoughts of ourselves, and may reasonably expect from the world that love, that reverence, and all those other advantages which we are taught to consider as the peculiar birth-right of merit. In the first stage of this habit of self-respect, it is from an anticipation of these advantages that all our pleasure is derived, till, at length, the combination of ideas becomes less perceptible, and, from the satisfaction which we habitually feel on receiving it, the promissory note is itself considered as sterling.

Applause and personal distinction seem, on their own account, desirable.

Having thus ascertained its leading principles, the definition of a sense of honour is easy and obvious. Honour, then, is a pleasurable reflection on our own merit, occasioned by the knowledge of our claim on the love and reverence of the world. It differs, indeed, from virtue, as the hopes on which it is founded are more gross and more uncertain; but it agrees with it, both as deriving, like virtue, its immediate reward from the heart, and as, when well directed, producing, for the most part, a similar effect on the conduct. I say when well directed, because it must occasionally happen, that by a faulty, or too narrow perception of utility, the stream of honour may be poisoned at its very source, and a local or mistaken interest preferred to the broad principles of general justice and expediency. It is thus we must account for that unavoidable difference of sentiment which some have endeavoured to illustrate by distinctions of true and false honour, but which, as it leans not on positive but relative merit, is, by its nature, as variable as the wants and wishes of mankind, and‡ receives a bias from every indefinite circum-

*Aristotle seems, however, to have clearly understood that we ought to *direct* self-love, not *extinguish* it.

Ει γαρ τις αει σπουδαζει τα δικαια πραττειν, αυτος μαλιστα παντων,————ουδεις ερει φιλαυτον τουτον, ουδε ψεξει,—δοξειε δ'αν τοιουτος ειναι μαλλον φιλαυτος.—απονεμει γαρ εαυτῳ, τα καλλιστα και μαλιστα αγαθα, και χαριζεται εαυτου τῳ κυριωτατῳ. Ethic. IX. The inference then will be that we ought χαιρεσθαι οις δει.

† Εοικασι την τιμην διωκειν, ινα πιστευωσιν εαυτους αγαθους ειναι. Ethic. I.

‡ ὁ δ'αν ὑπολαβῃ τιμιον ειναι το κυριον, αναγκη και την των αλλων πολιτων δοξαν ακολουθειν αυτοις. Polit. II.

stance of time, of climate, and of government. When well directed, however, (and its direction is very seldom entirely pernicious,) few arguments should seem necessary to prove the advantage of a reward thus cheap, a motive thus effectual.

If we were only roused to action by the prospect of immediate gratification, and the pressure of immediate pain, virtue alike and enterprise were at an end. We see it daily and hourly in those in whom the faculty we are now discussing is faint or extinguished. Their views are short and indistinct; their hopes and wishes grovelling; their actions without vigour; and the whole system of their energies paralyzed by a sullen and indolent content. But thus, by a happy and even imperceptible combination of ideas, our desires are extended to a larger field; our self-love acquires a nobler appearance, and for our own sake (if I may be allowed the expression) we are induced to disregard ourselves.

It is true, that this, correctly speaking, is the appropriate province of reason; but in the weakness and short-sightedness of human nature, we cannot but discover the force and utility of this species of auxiliary impulse of which the motive is always at hand, and which derives a never-failing influence from the very consciousness of our own existence.

We must not, however, confound a sense of honour with the indolent and lonely pride of the Epicurean divinities. Self-respect, without reference to the rest of mankind, either never existed at all, or only where the understanding has been impaired. Founded originally on the opinion of others, to that opinion it must always appeal, and must purchase by courtesy, by kindness, and by self-denial, that friendship and applause which alone can confirm and justify the secret exultations of the heart.

Nor can this deference to the feelings and understandings of our fellow-creatures be considered as a slavish or imprudent submission. While we acknowledge the occasional blindness of popular sentiment, let it not be forgotten that its general tendency, especially upon subjects connected with private morals, has been always favourable to virtue. I know not whether we are to ascribe this fortunate agreement to the dictates of long and universal experience, or whether we must not rather seek its cause in that artless instinct of morality, that native perception of right and wrong, which would, if real, identify without a rhetorical figure, the voice of the people with the voice of God.

Nor is it only by an appeal to our hopes and wishes, that a sense of honour maintains its influence. *Shame*, which may be defined the *sorrow of pride*, is a feeling so strange and terrible, that, while every other suffering may be endured with firmness, or thought of with indifference, this is the only punishment which no strength can sustain, no power avert; to which the greatest are not superior, and of which the boldest will confess their fears.

Such are the rewards and such the penalties of a sense of honour; the extent of their power may be estimated by their effects. Whole

years, nay, whole lives of labour and misery are spent, not only with cheerfulness, but delight, in compliance with these extraordinary feelings. Other principles of action have some one peculiar object, of which the attainment or frustration will conclude at once their hopes and anxieties. But of honour alone can it be said, that its pursuits and pleasures are alike interminable. When every other motive or argument is exhausted—when no other human hope or fear can apply, our daily experience proves that the sense of honour can subsist in its utmost vigour. When Cæsar despaired of life, he expressed by his gestures a wish to fall with dignity. But it is not only in such characters as Cæsar that we recognize its wonderful influence. It may be traced in every desire, every thought that looks to the applause or advantage of posterity; in public or private monuments; in the cares of a funeral; and all those other solicitudes which extend to a period when we shall ourselves be no longer sensible of pleasure or pride. Nor can there be a greater evidence of the efficacy of these exalted motives, than that the "feeble perception"* of them which fancy can afford, (for this is all that a dying man can feel,) is superior to the keenest apprehensions and warmest propensities of our nature.

But honour is not satisfied with a pre-eminence over every other feeling; it is not enough that, when† human laws oppose its rules, that very prohibition is considered as an additional motive. It goes still farther; it is always endeavouring to excel and transcend itself. When Bayard, "the fearless and unblamed," was bleeding to death amidst the ruins of France, what restrained him, since he had done his utmost duty, from accepting the assistance and compassion of the rebel Bourbon? And when our own brave Sidney, in circumstances almost parallel, displayed a still more noble self-denial, no duty or even charity forbade his quenching his own intolerable thirst before he sent the water to the dying sentinel. There is, there must be, in such acts of glory, a pleasure superior to all external dangers; a high and almost spiritual exultation, elevated above the region of external pain!

Self-respect, in short, is the most powerful and one of the most useful of our mental habits; it is the principle to which the noblest actions of our nature may be most frequently traced; the nurse of every splendid and every useful quality. How far it may be occasionally abused, or how far it may be itself consistent with the principles of our holy religion, are questions which have long been disputed with violent and fanatical acrimony. The first objection I am neither prepared nor inclined to deny. To imperfection every human invention is liable; nor can it be considered as a subject of blame, that even our best institutions are only a choice of evils. But that a sense of honour is contrary to the spirit of religion, though Mandeville (perhaps insidiously) admits

* Αισθησις ασθενης Rhet. II.

† Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix. IV. 2.

the charge,* appears, (to say no more of it,) a hard and hazardous assertion. It will, indeed, be readily allowed, that there is only one motive which can deserve the name of *virtue*; but to condemn as illegal or impious every other desire or principle, would be in opposition to all the wants and feelings of mankind, and would, by an inevitable inference, lay the axe to the root of civil government itself. Like every other law, the laws of honour are occasioned by the wants and vices of the world. Like them, too, they must derive their influence from the weakness of our nature. The perfectly virtuous man, if any such there be, needs no such stimulus or restriction; but for our sake, for his own, let him not withdraw from us, who are not so fortunate, those salutary restraints and penalties which fence our virtue by our passions, and unite in the cause of human happiness the powers of this world and the next. For a politician neither must nor can destroy the propensities he attempts to guide. He must take mankind as he finds them, a compound of violence and frailty; he must oppose vice to vice, and interest to interest, and, like the fabled Argonaut, accomplish his glorious purpose by the labour of those very monsters who were armed for his destruction.

But why, after all, should we affix the reproach of wickedness or folly to feelings in themselves useful and necessary? feelings intimately connected with our nature, and which abuse alone can render criminal; feelings, in short, which are the foundation and support of all human authority, and which he, therefore, (with all humility be it spoken,) He Himself has not disdained to sanction, whom civil government adores, as her Author, in whom kings reign, and princes decree justice.

Having thus ascertained that the sense of honour, like other secondary motives, is consonant to the nature of mankind, and by no means averse to the influence or doctrines of religion, the question of expediency is all that now remains for discussion. If it appears from further inquiry that, in the effects produced by their actions on society, good predominates, for unmixed good must not be expected, we may reasonably pronounce them not only innocent, but, in a subordinate degree of virtue, laudable.

It is thus that the other modifications of self-love, ambition, emulation, and the like, have in all ages of the world been not only tolerated, but, under certain restrictions, encouraged and even praised. To a similar or greater indulgence, a sense of honour may undoubtedly lay claim. It possesses, in no small degree, the advantages of the habits we have now enumerated, without an equal participation in the abuses attendant on either of them. It is true, its resemblance to ambition is so remarkable, that even Montesquieu himself has been deceived by the similarity.† Yet, notwithstanding their kindred origin, they are mental

* Origin of Honour, p. 45

† Esprit des Loix. IV

habits between which a wide difference may undoubtedly be observed. Honour is chiefly conversant about the means; ambition disregards them in comparison of the end. The ambitious character is a conqueror thirsting after the dominions of another; the man of honour will expend all his energies, his happiness, and life itself, in defence of the fame he has already acquired. The pleasures of the one consist in pursuit; of the other in possession. The first, like an ardent gamester, is careless of his former acquisitions, and risques them all in the hopes of more; the other, proudly satisfied with his present reputation, broods over it with a miser's fondness. Were it possible to blend these charactars in one, the hero would be perhaps complete; or, to speak more justly, a sense of honour is what the ambitious man wishes to believe that he feels.

Nor are their effects on society less different than the modes of their existence. As the motives of honour are more pure, so is its sphere of action more extensive. Ambition is generally, perhaps fortunately, concentrated in a single pursuit; but a sense of honour enters into all the occurrences of life, and gives point and ornament to the least as well as the greatest.* "*Delectat domi, foris non impedit. Peregrinatur nobiscum, rusticatur.*" It is at once the parent of loyalty, and the preserver of freedom. In the camp or convent its influence is equally valuable; it adds tenfold delight and security to the endearments of a private, and is the sturdy guard of virtue through the dangers of a public life,

To such a guard as this, indeed, must innocence, in the present imperfect state of human virtue, be often indebted for its safety. The best intentions of the most blameless heart, might often lead, by unsuspected and imperceptible windings, to the brink of misery. It is decency, it is regard for character, and a sense of our rank in the world, which fence off the avenues of guilt, and not only resist, but resent the first approaches of pollution. Never may false philosophy, or mistaken religion, succeed in eradicating that virtuous self love, that pure and salutary pride, which defends the peace of families, and the morality of nations; the distinctive mark, the main support of the amiable and exalted character of a European female.

But if such are its effects on the character of individuals, as a rational and political principle its influence is still more conspicuous, and still more valuable. For there, its excesses are less perceivable, and its faults (for to faults it is certainly liable) become like the darker tints in a landscape, constituent and useful parts of the beauty and harmony of the whole. Experience, indeed, has shown, that in every nation popular honour has been the greatness of the public. A steady preference of glory to gain; a strict, yet not distrustful care of liberty; a lofty for-

* Πασων αρετων κοσμος. Eth. IV.

bearance towards their weaker neighbours, and an unyielding firmness against the encroachments of the more powerful: these, with those other wholesome prejudices, which none who ever felt them would desire to lose, are some of its more illustrious characteristics. Such was the temper of the Athenians of old; and of the Hollanders, in the seventeenth century, who consented to ruin their country rather than disgrace it. Such was the ruling principle of the Roman nation throughout the long history of their freedom and greatness; and such has been (and may we never entirely lose it!) the source of British grandeur and prosperity. Nor are those minuter features to be overlooked which appear in the private manners of the people, in their amusements and literature, in their buildings, and more perhaps than all, in the popularity of those pursuits in which praise rather than profit is the expected reward.

For where, in a state, private luxury is excessive, and public magnificence small, where neither in the buildings, nor in any other distinguished work posterity is at all regarded, where minute convenience succeeds to grandeur, and minute interest to ambition, let us beware how we extol the wisdom or prosperity of that country. There is not a more deadly poison to public greatness, or public virtue, than that false and hollow moderation, which, under a specious name, contracts and envenoms the force of self-love, and concentrates all our faculties in the pursuit of short-sighted gain, or individual accommodation,

Nor is political insignificance the only danger to be apprehended. When a nation has once lost its self-respect, when that strong shoot is destroyed which overtopt and kept down the more noxious weeds, the meanest and most hateful passions assume a certain rankness of luxuriance. The laws supported only by fear, are borne at first with murmuring, and at length evaded or despised, and all those horrors follow which invariably haunt the decay and twilight of nations.

These are no imaginary pictures; both the one and the other are confirmed by the uniform experience of ages. For the influence of a sense of honour is not, as Montesquieu was tempted to suppose,* confined to any peculiar form of government; much less can we assent to his arbitrary assignment of patriotism exclusively to republics, and to monarchies the distinct and appropriate impulse of honour. We know that, call it by whatever name, a sense of honour is apparent in every page of the histories of Greece and Switzerland. We know also, we know and feel, that the subject of a monarchy is not insensible to the warmest love for his country. The author of the Spirit of the Laws was misled by a variety of appearance, which results not from the form, but from the extension of society. Where that is small and concentrated, self-respect immediately terminates in patriotism. When, however, the cir-

* Esprit des Loix. III. 3. 5. 7.

cle is more extended, we seek in the distinctions and classes of mankind, in the prejudices of every person and rank, some intermediate point, some resting place of esteem, more attainable* by our views, and more nearly affecting our hopes and fears.

But though all the symptoms of honour are visible in the histories of Greece and Rome, they are, it cannot be concealed, very differently modified from those which now prevail, and have for many centuries prevailed in Europe. The causes of this variety are so familiarly known, that they require but little discussion. So much, however, must be observed, as, that extravagant as some parts of the modern code may seem, or (as in the conspicuous case of private warfare) unchristian, yet in the more general lines of character, in refined courtesy, in openness of courage, in loyalty, and† generosity to enemies, the ancient ideas of honour were far inferior.

The sullen and stately demeanor of the lofty disciple of Aristotle,‡ his slow pace, his solemn tone, and the pompous cadence of his periods, would now be hardly considered as legitimate signs of magnanimity. And while the meanest soldier would now shudder at the practices of ancient warfare, the triumphs of even a Scipio himself must shrink and fade before the lustre of our Edward at Poitiers. If, indeed, there are any who still continue to doubt the efficacy of honour, let them look to a period when no other law maintained the interests of society, let them look to the chivalry of the middle ages. It is in fact, in such times as these, it is in the season of anarchy and peril, that this principle is peculiarly triumphant. And when it is considered that a large, perhaps the greatest part of the original conquerors of the Western empire were voluntary and casual adventurers; when we take into the account the nature of their warfare, their ignorance and insubordination, their dissolute and mercenary habits, and the total absence of any§ local or patriotic attachment; when such was the situation of Europe, what else could have been expected but a total and immediate return to the crimes and miseries of a savage life?

Yet so far from this being the event, we may view with wonder the virtues and the refinement which succeeded. Nay, more, to this period

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* Ευσυνοπτος. Rhet. II.

† The English at Poitiers, after having supped, unarmed, in company with prisoners twice as numerous as themselves,—"chacun s'en alla en son logis, avec ses prisonniers, Chevaliers et Escuyers, qui se rançonnerent envers eux qui prins les avoyent: qui leur demandoyent, sur leur foy, combiens ils pourroient payer, sans eux grever, et les croyoient legerement; et si disoyent communement, qu'ils ne vouloyent mie si etroitement rançonner nul Chevalier, n'Escuyer, qu'il ne peut bien cherir et advancer son honneur." Froissart, L. III.

‡ Κινησις βραδεια, φωνη βαρεια, λεξις στασιμος. Aristotle was an accurate observer of the manners of his time; if they (as appears from the specimen) were coarse and haughty, they can, however, form no imputation on the philosopher who describes them.

§ This was acquired very slowly indeed, even in Froissart there is no appearance of it.

of ignorance and confusion we owe no inconsiderable share of our present blessings; from this corrupted soil sprung the fairest shoots of European freedom; from this chaos arose those goodly frames of polity, of which our own country still retains the last and proudest remnant. Such were the glorious effects produced by a sense of honour, as nourished and guided by the institutions of chivalry. For that this was the principle whereon those institutions depended, is apparent from all those contrivances to feed and elevate self-respect, those forms and ceremonies, those distinctions and ornaments, which were, in fact, the very essence and secret spring of their power.

The untamed and haughty warrior regarded with contempt the menace of impotent laws and a feeble sovereign; nor was he suited, either by temper or capacity, to attend to long declamations on the dignity of the moral sense, or the beauty of social virtue. But when he was told that cruelty was unworthy of a *brave man*, and that a *knight* should *disdain* a falsehood, when he was moved to virtue by his own admiration of himself, he heard a language which he understood, and an argument suited to his habits and desires. In every part of this wonderful fabric is a similar process visible. It is displayed in that rigid* minuteness of courtesy which, however romantic it may seem, yet by the habits of benevolence it produced, was the cause of far greater advantages than the marshalling a procession, or preserving the harmony of a banquet. We discover it in that refined and delicate intercourse of the sexes, of which the ancients had no idea; in the constancy of their attachment, and the zeal, I had almost said piety of their attentions. It may be seen in that dignified humanity which so admirably tempered their native courage; which, in the warmest contests, and most inveterate feuds, preserved them untainted by that dark and atrocious revenge so disgraceful to the character of the ancient world. Even their single combats were surely preferable to the† poisonings and murders of Rome, and in the "arms of courtesy,"‡ the preparation of the lists, and the other precautions against bloodshed, we must acknowledge that a true knight as he was, "without fear," so was he almost "without reproach."

And thus, too, was that lofty spirit of independence, which claimed an almost regal dignity, turned to the maintenance of public order. Their

* St. Palaye. Memoires de la Chevalerie, N. 15. P. 39. Also Le Chev. de la Tour a ses Filles.

† Livy xl. 42. vii. 48.

‡ Roman de Dom Ursino le Navarie. Tressan ix. 6. the "combat a outrance" was seldom permitted except in cases of "felonie" or treason. So in Dryden's Palamon and Arcite.

> "——— none shall dare
> With shorten'd sword to stab in closer war,
> But at fair distance fight with manly strength,
> Nor thrust with biting point, but strike at length."

freedom was restrained by fealty, and to loyalty submission itself became a pride. Yet, if that authority which they thus adored, had imposed any order inconsistent with honour, they proved at once that it was the principle which swayed them, and not the form; that they obeyed themselves, and not their sovereign. When the Governor of Bayonne was commanded to bear a part in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve, "Let your orders," he replied, "Let your orders be such as we are *able* to perform." His great soul, says Montesquieu, conceived a base action to be an impossibility. To this same elevation of principle we may also trace that strong, though untutored zeal for Christianity, which, imperfect as it certainly appears, was no small advantage in the peculiar dangers of the time.

Nor though the bigotry of the feudal ages has been much insisted on, can we find in the general habits of the people much of that illiberal hatred with which they have been charged. The Saracens, in particular, seem to have been regarded with no ungenerous animosity, and in their histories and romances we often find distinguished mention of a Saladin,* a Palamedes,† or a Sultan of Olifarne.‡ But in this, as in most other points, the spirit of chivalry had a constant reference to a love of glory, and what they believed the interests of the Christian religion. "For as the priesthood was instituted for the divine service" (they are the words of Alonzo the Fifth of Portugal)§ "so was chivalry for the maintenance of religion and justice. A knight should be the guardian of orphans and widows; the father of the poor; and the prop of those who have no other support. They who do not act thus are unworthy to bear the name."

These glorious instances of the virtue of our ancestors, while they ought to excite our warmest emulation, evince that even the absurdities of a chivalrous sense of honour had no small effect in softening the ferocity, and refining the manners of the world. They do more; they prove that a great and beneficial change had been accomplished (a change to effect which honour was by itself incompetent) by the influence of that pure religion, which superstition might obscure, but could never entirely efface.

We have not attempted to follow the sense of honour through all its principal bearings, its nature, its propriety, its effects on individuals, and above all, on nations. It appears that in every age, and under every form of government, it has been productive of great, though not unmingled happiness and glory. In the remarkable period of chivalry, we have seen it supplying the place of law, of civilization, and philosophy; and elevating the rude warriors of the north to virtues which the Greeks

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* Way's Fabliaux. † Amadis de Gaul. ‡ Froissart.

§ He addressed them to his son over the dead body of the Count Marialva, slain at the storming of Arzita. Lyttleton's Hen. II. iii. 159. Mickle's Lusiad III. note ad finem.

and Romans were unable and unworthy to comprehend. It has, however, been admitted, that, while we gaze at the advantages, we are not to overlook the danger; and that self-respect can claim no good effects unless moderate in its degree, and wise in its direction.

To obtain this desirable end, no means are so effectual as a deep and steady conviction of the perfect insignificance of every human motive, when put in competition with the eternal claims of reason and virtue.

To a religious sense, indeed, the very praises of a sense of honour must prove its inferiority. Excellent and noble as it sometimes appears, we can only give it credit as a useful secondary motive, a powerful human engine, which derives all its value from being employed in the cause of virtue. Even when well directed there is always room to apprehend, that dignity may degenerate into punctiliousness, and honour into a selfish and lazy pride. Its direction is, however, of most importance; and when we consider that this must entirely depend on the desires or prejudices of those on whose opinion we form our own, we cannot expect in such local and variable laws, a steady criterion of right or wrong, or a code of general morality.

As an auxiliary impulse it may be allowed; as a final object never. There are, it must always be remembered, there are occasions when the friendship of the world must be rejected and despised. In the mist and obscurity of our voyage, we may be allowed the aid of human invention, and may steer our course by the time piece or the compass; but let us not, as we value our safety, let us not forget to correct and regulate their imperfect authority, by a constant reference to those Celestial Lights, whose truth no man can impeach, and whose laws are the laws of eternity.

CARMEN SÆCULARE,

A PRIZE POEM,

RECITED AT OXFORD, 1801.

Felices Britonum curas, atque addita vitæ
Commoda, et inventas artes, bellique triumphos,
Expediam: Vos, Angliacæ clarissima gentis
Lumina, queis mundi rerumque arcana retexit
Ipsa volens Natura; et vos, qui martia passi
Vulnera, pro patria justis cecidistis in armis,
Magnanimi heroes! vestras date floribus urnas
Spargere, nec nostræ conamina temnite musæ!

Sit mihi fas audita loqui, sit facta referre,
Tardaque bis denis volventia tempora lustris
Respicere; humanæ licet æquora turbida vitæ
Musa gemat circumspectans, secumque revolvat
Mæsta hominum scelera, et parvo sub pectore fluctus
Irarum ingentes, et corda oblita futuri.

Inde graves nasci luctus, et bella per orbem,
Et diræ passim cædes, et mille doloris,
Mille mali facies, fuso Discordia crine
Funeream accendens tædam, insatiata cruore
Vindicta, et desolatas bacchata per urbes
Ambitio, et Culpæ merito comes addita Pœna.

Nam Pater omnipotens ignotis legibus orbem
Temperat, et denso noctis velatus amictu,
Sceptra tenet, nobis, credo, neque machina rerum
Tota patet, certive arcana volumina fati.

Haud tamen, haud nostrum est rerum alte exquirere causas;
Tantum adeo aversamur opus, magis acta referre,
Et patriam aggredimur laudem, vocat altior armis,
Altior ingenio Brittannia, sæcla parentum
Exsuperans fama, et majoribus inclyta cœptis.

Depictas alii voces, Cadmeïa signa ;*
Et Batavum† curas, calami quæ tædia primum,
Et scriptæ docuêre moras odisse tabellæ ;
Mirando ductas alii magnete carinas,
Nitratosque ignes celebrent, imitataque Divûm
Fulmina, vim quorum contra nihil ipsa valeret
Lorica Æacidæ, aut clypei septemplicis orbes ;
At cœli docuisse vias, quo concita motu
Sidera agant certa nocturnas lege choreas ;
Qui cursus anni ; quo sol moderamine flectat
Errantes stellas, medii ad prætoria mundi
Regius ipse sedens; coëundi quanta cupido
Ordine quæque suo teneat ; quo turbidus æstu
Invadat terram fluctus, fugiatque vicissim,
Luna, tuum comitatus iter ; quæ splendida lucis
Materies ; septemque Iris trahat unde colores ;
Laus erit hæc saltem, nostroque hæc gloria sæclo.

Quanquam etenim haud nostris illuxit prima diebus
Vis animi, Newtone, tui, et felicior ætas
Ingenii eximios jactet nascentis honores ;
Sed vidisse tamen, sed et audivisse docentem
Te, decus O patriæ ! Naturæ magne sacerdos !
Contigit huic sæclo, et circumflevisse sepulchrum.

Nec vero, interea, nobis non utilis unda,‡
Suppositis flammis, modicoque accensa calore,
Mirum adeo tulit auxilium, stat turris ad auras,
Sulfurea nebula, et fumosis cincta tenebris ;
Pendet abhinc vastamque extrudit in aëra molem
Ferratis trabibus centumque innexa catenis
Machina, quin subtus calefacta sævit aquæ vis
Alta petens, gelidam tecti de culmine nympham
Quæ simul accepit gremio, condensa residit,
Desertumque super spatium et vacua atria linquit,
Nec mora,—præcipiti tendens in inania cursu,
Irruit, et portam obstantem circumfluus æther
Deprimit hinc motu alterno surgitque caditque
Libra ingens, molesque graves impostaque temnit
Pondera ; quin tali humentis penetralia terræ
Auxilio ingredimur qua divitis ima metalli

* Letters, which are generally believed to have been introduced into Europe by Cadmus.

† The discovery of printing (however the fraud of John Faustus may have transferred a part of the praise to Mentz) appears to belong to Holland.

‡ The steam-engine.

Vena latet, tali domitum molimine ferrum
In varias cogit formas, fingitque premendo
Malleus; at veniet tempus, cum viribus illis
Adverso tardas urgebit flumine cymbus
Navita, et obstantes scindet sine remige fluctus.

Sed neque nos ignota latent tua tenuia regna,*
Aura levis! quantos ibi nostri mira triumphos
Vis tulit ingenii! lustratam navibus æthram,
Littoribus longe patriis terraque relicta,
Vidimus, et magni superantes mœnia mundi
Icarias homines ausos contemnere pœnas.

Quin et scire datur quo crebris ignibus aër†
Innocuum micet, ardentem quo fulminis alam
Ducat docta manus, certoque in tramite flammam
Dirigat; agnosco hæc nostris concessa diebus
Arcana, et longos proavis ignota per annos!
Nonne vides? nimborum inter cœlique tumultus,
Præscripto celeres concurrunt ordine flammæ,
Porrigit excelsum qua ferrea virga tridentem
Servatrix; tutis assurgunt templa columnis
Interea, regumque domus atque aurea tecta.

Hinc etiam variis aptat medicamina morbis‡
Naturæ expertus sapiens, renovatque trementum
Corpora fracta senum, et tristi languentia nocte
Lumina; jam vitreo circumvolvente cylindro,
Igneus exsiluit vigor, et penetrabilis artus
Percurrit calor, et venis se immiscuit imis.

Quid referam servata undis, ereptaque letho§
Corpora, cum sævis Acherontis faucibus hæsit
Eluctans anima, et vultus et livida circum
Tempora diriguit concreto flumine sanguis?

Atque ea dum in patrio molimina tanta movemus
Rite solo, interea haud segnes aliena per arva
Insequimur famam, meritosque augemus honores.
Vos fortunati! primum quibus ausa carina

* Though the balloon itself be a French invention, yet the discoveries which gave rise to it are most of them British.

† The conductor.

‡ Electricity.

§ The Humane Society.

Spernere cæruleos fines, et limina rerum
Antiqua, et magno nova quærere littora ponto?
Talibus inceptis olim tua flumina, Amazon,
Inventique Cubæ scopuli, Gyanæque* paludes
Visaque thuriferis† pulcherrima Florida pratis

Non tamen Hesperius ductor,‡ non classis Ibera,
Non quos bellipotens emisit Lisboa nautæ,
Laudibus Angliaci certent ducis, ille sonantes
Anyanis§ scopulos inter, glaciataque ponti
Claustra viam tenuit, non illum terruit Arctos
Parrhasis, atque suis Boreas sævissimus oris.
Nec minus inmites fluctus et littora vidit
Australi vicina polo, qua frigida pandit
Cæruleos Maloïna‖ sinus, atque altera nostris
Subjecta imperiis, terrarumque ultima Thule.¶
Quem non dira fames auri, non impia duxit
Ambitio, aut sævæ fallax pietatis imago;
Sed patriæ divinus amor; sed vivida virtus
Impulit, et meritæ laudis generosa cupido.

Nec lustrare vias tantum tractusque latentes
Æquoris audaces jussit Brittannia puppes;
Scilicet oceani imperium invictumque tridentem
Classe virisque potens, tenet, æternumque tenebit
Illa, maris regina; en! Plata sonantibus undis,
Ultimus, en, Daonas,** et fulvæ Tigris arena
Fundit opes varias, prædaque assueta Malaya
Subinisso nostras veneratur acinace leges.
Quid tantum memorem imperium, quid subdita regna
Æthiopum, primoque rubentia littora sole,
Et quibus assiduo curru jam lenior oris
Effundit fessæ tandem vis sera diei?
Nobis, quos rapido scindit Laurentius amne
Felices parent campi, et qua plurima Ganges
Regna lavat, positis armis conterrita pacem
Birma petit, gens dura virum petière Marattæ,
Quid Javæ referam montes, quid saxa Mysoræ?

* So is Guiana written by Fracastorius.

† According to the Spanish voyagers, Florida was so called from the odour which filled the air on the approach of the ships to land.

‡ Columbus.

§ The Japanese name for the Straits of Behring.

‖ The Spanish name for Falkland's Islands.

¶ So called by Captain Cook, as being the most southern known land

** The river Ava

Quæque minis tepido consurgis proxima soli
Taprobane, lætasque tuas, Caffraria, vites!
Tuque etiam immeritis Gallorum erepta catenis,
Anglorum læto fluitantia signa triumpho
Vidisti tandem, Melite! tuque, inclyta Calpe!
Firma manes, nostris dudum decorata tropæis,
Quæ rupe Herculea, quæ milite tuta Britanno
Hispanumque minas et inania despicis arma.
Interea, quæcunque viam tenuere per undas,
(Sæva licet nostro minitetur Gallia regno,
Et conjuratis Europæ ferveat armis)
Submittunt humiles nobis vexilla carinæ.

Nec tamen has tantum meruit Brittannia laudes,
Magna armis,—major pietate;—hinc Ille[a] remotos
(Ille, decus nostrum, et meritæ pars optima famæ)
Lustravit populos, et dissita regna tyrannûm,
Panderet ut mæstas arces invitaque Phœbo
Limina, qua nigris late sonuere cavernis
Assidui gemitus et iniqui pondera ferri.

Hinc etiam Lybico[†] consurgunt littore turres,
Nostræque incultis monstrantur gentibus artes,
Hesperidum scopulos ultra et deserta Saharæ
Fœda situ; nec longa dies, cum servus iniqua
Vincula rumpat ovans, et pictas Gambia puppes
Et nova arenosis miretur mœnia ripis!

O patria! O felix nimium! seu pace volentes
Alma regas populos et justa lege feroces
Arbitra compescas, seu belli tela corusces
Fulminea metuenda manu; tu, maxima, ponto,
Tu circumfusis, victrix, dominaberis undis!

Cincta etenim patria frondentia tempora quercu
Te comitem adjunxit, nostroque in littore sedem
Aurea Libertas posuit, non illa furentes
Sueta animos, cœcique incendere pectora vulgi:
Qualis Sarmaticos olim bacchata per agros
Effera,—sanguinea,—aut qualem nunc Gallia plorat
Maternis sparsam lacrymis et cæde suorum:—
At populis, Alurede, tuis quæ candida primum

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[a] Howard. [†] Sierra Leone.

Illuxit, cœli soboles, quæ sæva Britannûm
Frænavit corda et torvis metuenda tyrannis
Jura dedit, longos illinc deducta per annos
Imperia, et trino concordia fœdere regna.

Marlburios testor cineres, effusaque Galli
Agmina (cum luctu pallens Lodoicus et ira,
Undique disjectas acies fædataque flevit
Lilia, vix media demum securus in urbe.)
Quid Libertatis potuit divinitus ardens
Flamma, quid invicti testor potuere Britanni!

Nec jam magnorum proles oblita parentum
Nascimur; haud adeo divinus pectoris ardor,
Martiaque edormit virtus;—Tua flumina, Nile,
Testor, quasque Tagus dives devolvit arenas!
Scilicet et fractas vidisti, Texela,* classes,
Et spes abruptas, atque irrita tela tuorum!
Quid referam claras victrici classe calendas,
Qua viridem Armoricam inter Dunmoniaque arva
Hesperio resonant Uxantia littora fluctu?

Cum spreto malesana Deo totumque per orbem
Gallia, cæca, furens, cunctas sibi subdere gentes
Sperabat, solioque sacros detrudere Reges,
Reppulit ipsa suo vementem littore pestem
Anglia, et his saltem vetuit consistere terris.
Ergo inter medias Europæ illæsa ruinas
Constitit, haud rerum tantis labefacta procellis,
Devictos inter populos, et diruta late
Imperia: has colunt Pietas conterrita sedes,
Has antiqua Fides;—atque, O, ni tristia fati
Jura vetent, orbis primum colubere tyrannos
Nostrum erit, eversoque iterum succurrere sæclo.

REGINALD HEBER,

Commoner, Brazen Nose College

* Sic D'Anville

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